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Music at the Court of Burgundy
1364–1419

A Documentary History

by

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To my parents

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Craig Wright

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACO	Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or
AN	Lille, Archives départementales du Nord
Bibl. nat., CB	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Collection de Bourgogne
CBM	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale
DTÖ	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</i>
PM	<i>Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i>
RISM	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i>

Music Manuscripts

Apt	Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16 ^{bis}
Aosta	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario, A.I.D 19
Arras	Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 983.
Autun 152	Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 152
Barcelona 853	Barcelona, Biblioteca central, M.853
Barcelona 971	Barcelona, Biblioteca central, 971
Berlin 190	Berlin-Tübingen, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 8 ^o 190
Bologna Q 15	Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico musicale, Q 15
Bologna 2216	Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, 2216
Brussels 758	Brussels, Archives du royaume, Archives ecclésiastiques 758
Brussels 9085	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 9085
Brussels 19606	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 19606
Buxheimer	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 352b (= Mus. 3725)
Cambrai 6	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 6
Cambrai 11	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 11
Cambrai 29	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 29
Cambrai 1328	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 1328
Canonici 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213
Chantilly 564	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564
Cividale 57	Cividale del Friuli, Museo archeologico nazionale, Cod. LVII
Cividale 98	Cividale del Friuli, Museo archeologico nazionale, Cod. XCVIII
Durham 20	Durham, Cathedral Library, C.I.20
Escorial V.III.24	Escorial, Biblioteca, V.III.24
Faenza	Faenza, Biblioteca comunale, 117
Florence 26	Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Panciatichiano 26

Grottaferrata	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell' Abbazia, E. ^b .XVI
Ivrea	Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, no shelf mark
Leiden 342A	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, L.T.K. 342A
Leiden 2515	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 2515
London A.XXVI	London, British Museum, Cotton, Titus A.XXVI
London 41667	London, British Museum, Additional 41667
Mellon	New Haven, Yale University Library, Mellon Chansonnier
Modena M.5.24	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24
Modena X.I.11	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.X.I.11
Munich 3232a	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. 3232a
Munich 15611	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 15611
Nürnberg 9	Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragment lat. 9
Old Hall	London, British Museum, Additional 57950
Oxford	Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Museo 7
E Museo 7	
Padua 658	Padua, Biblioteca universitaria, 658
Paris 67	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Collection de Picardie 67
Paris 146	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds frç. 146
Paris 196	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 196
Paris 568	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds ital. 568
Paris 571	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds frç. 571
Paris 2444	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2444
Paris 4379	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 4379
Paris 4917	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 4917
Paris 6771	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 6771
Parma 75	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Fragment Busta n.75
Prague XI.E.9	Prague, Universitátní Knihovna, XI.E.9
Robertsbridge	London, British Museum, Additional 28550
Rochester 44	Rochester, Sibley Music Library, Fleischer Fragment 44
San Pietro	Vatican City, Biblioteca vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro,
B 80	B 80
Schedelsches	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 315a (= Mus. 3232)
Strassburg	Strassburg, Bibliothèque municipale, 222 C.22 (destroyed)
222 C.22	
Toulouse 94	Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, 94
Tournai 476	Tournai, Bibliothèque capitulaire, 476
Trémoille	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 23190, formerly belonging to the duchess de la Trémoille
Trent 87-92	Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, 87-92
Trent 93	Trent, Archivio capitolare, 93
Utrecht 6.E.37	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 6.E.37.

INTRODUCTION

The dukes of Burgundy of the house of Valois, perhaps the most renowned patrons of music in western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, were four princes who reigned successively from 1364 until 1477. The first duke, Phillip the Bold (1364-1404), formally received the duchy of Burgundy from his brother, King Charles V, in 1364. In 1384, he inherited the counties of Flanders and Artois and their rich urban centers of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres. His son, John the Fearless (1404-1419), maintained and consolidated the Burgundian domain during a period of great civil disorder in France, a disorder he in no small way helped to create. Holland, Brabant, Hainaut, and Luxembourg were added to the patrimony under Philip the Good (1419-1467). It was during his tenure that Burgundy reached its political, economic, and artistic apogee, surpassing in splendor every other kingdom in western Europe. As mercurial the rise, so the fall: in 1477 Charles the Rash, last of the four rulers, made a precipitous attempt to seize new territories between the Low Countries and Burgundy. He was killed at the battle of Nancy, and his Burgundian empire was soon dismantled.

Such an illustrious dynasty as that of Burgundy has naturally been the focus of numerous historical essays. As early as 1781, an extensive two-volume history of the four dukes was already in print.¹ But musicological research—musicology being a relatively new discipline—has been slow in coming. The first and only exhaustive treatment of music at Burgundy is Jeanne Marix's *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon*, published in 1939. Titularly a history of music only at the court of Philip the Good, M^{lle} Marix in fact discusses music under the patronage of both the last two dukes, Philip the Good and Charles the Rash.² The first two rulers, Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, have not enjoyed such attention. Although they reigned for almost half of the Burgundian era and employed some of the most famous composers of the age, their musical institutions are virtually unknown. The task of the present volume is to fill this void: to reconstruct the musical life of the court of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless and provide a companion to M^{lle} Marix's *Histoire*.

1 Plancher *et alii*, *Histoire*.

2 For music at the court of Charles the Rash, see also Douillez, «Muziek.»

A history of music at the court of Burgundy will of necessity make use of the abundant source material surviving from the period. The documents relevant to Burgundy are divided roughly into two categories: chronicles and account books. Of the two, the chronicles are perhaps less important for the musicologist. While they occasionally provide invaluable descriptions of festivals, tournaments, entrances, and the like, they are usually lacking in specific data. They may tell us, for example, that minstrels performed at such and such a royal dinner, but they rarely reveal who performed, what they played, or on what instruments they played it. For this more detailed information, we must turn to the court account books, and for Burgundy the collection is fabulously rich.

Foremost among the Burgundian accounts are those of the receiver-general of all finances. In 1386, two years after he had inherited the county of Flanders from his father-in-law, Louis of Male, Philip the Bold empowered his receiver-general to initiate a series of ledgers that would group the ducal expenses made in Flanders and Burgundy under a single accounting system. These central accounts of the receiver-general were inscribed in imperial-size quarto, parchment volumes which today are housed in the departmental archives of Dijon and Lille. What we know of life at the Burgundian court—its dress, manners, customs, and arts—comes largely from these meticulously and often beautifully executed manuscripts. Particularly remarkable is the continuity of the documentation; of the thirty-seven accounts of the receiver-general known to have been written between 1386 and the death of John the Fearless in 1419, all but five have survived.

Not so well preserved, but equally important, are the regional accounts for the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Flanders, the accounts of the *argentier* (expenditures for dry goods), of the *chambre aux deniers* (daily expenses of the court), and the *escroes* (daily expenses of the court for food and personnel). There are also countless batches of ducal orders of payment (mandements) and the receipts (quittances) of the individuals to whom money was paid. Finally, supplementing this copious primary source material is the *Collection de Bourgogne* at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, a series of more than one hundred volumes of documents copied during the eighteenth century from original Burgundian records. These transcripts became of special importance when many of the originals were destroyed during the Revolution. The *Collection de Bourgogne*, the central and regional accounts, the smaller collections of the *argentier*, the *chambre aux deniers*, and the *escroes*, along with the ducal letters, mandements, and quittances have provided the bulk of the documentation for this study.³

3 The most important of these manuscripts are listed in Appendix B. For a more detailed discussion of Burgundian source material, see Vaughan, *Valois Dukes of Burgundy: Sources of Information*; Pocquet du Haut Jussé, «Chefs des finances ducales de Bourgogne;» and Mollat, *Comptes généraux de l'état bourguignon*, I, ix-lxiii.

The musicologist has one additional fund of information at his disposal that is rarely of value to the writer of political history. This fund, of course, is the music itself. Comparatively speaking, the late Middle Ages is represented by only a modest musical legacy: probably no more than sixty manuscripts of polyphony have survived from this era whole or in part. These manuscripts are pertinent to the present study for the insight they afford into the musical repertoire of the court—the question of the evolution of musical style is not a central one here.⁴ By integrating a knowledge of this musical repertoire with account books and chronicles, we can begin to reconstruct a picture of the musical life of the court of Burgundy and assess its relative importance in the art music of late-mediaeval France.

4 I treat the musical style of the Burgundian chanson in a volume soon to be published by Tecla Editions, London. For existing discussions of style, see Apel, «Development;» Bessler, *Bourdon*; Dannemann, *Spätgotische Musiktradition*; Hughes, «Gothic Music,» and Marggraf, «Französische Chanson.»

Payments made at the court of Burgundy by Dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless were most often with the French franc (fr.), a coin comprising sixteen sous (s.), each sou totalling twelve deniers (d.). The franc was equal in value to both the French florin and the *livre* of Tours (l.t.). Its worth was slightly less than that of the royal *écus*, which contained eighteen sous, six deniers, and that of the *livre* of Paris, which had twenty sous. The English noble, mentioned here exclusively in Chapter II, had a value of six sous, eight deniers. Although in late-mediaeval France the purchasing power of these coins fluctuated, a chicken could usually be bought for a sou, a pair of shoes for four sous, a full wardrobe for ten francs, a harp for thirty francs, and an excellent horse for fifty francs.

The Ascent of Burgundy

The history of the Valois dukes of Burgundy begins in 1361 when Philip of Rouvres, the last of the Capetian dukes of Burgundy, died at the age of sixteen without an heir. The duchy of Burgundy escheated to the French crown and was incorporated into the royal domain by John the Good, second king of France of the house of Valois. Two years later, King John decided to grant secretly the duchy to his fourth son, Philip the Bold.¹ Although John died before a formal conferral could be made, his eldest son and successor, King Charles V, executed the investiture. In November of 1364, Philip the Bold travelled to Dijon and officially took charge of the duchy of Burgundy.²

Philip the Bold and his follower John the Fearless ruled Burgundy during that succession of Anglo-French hostilities which have been collectively called the Hundred Years War. In 1369, Philip seized the opportunity to increase his personal power and help his brother, King Charles V, to keep the commercially important territory of Flanders under French domination.

Flanders, an independent county bordering France on the north, was ruled by the wily Louis of Male whose daughter Margaret was the richest heiress in all Europe.³ Louis was anxious to marry her to a son of King Edward III of England and thereby establish an English alliance, an alliance naturally anathema to the French. As a substitute, Charles V proposed that Margaret espouse his younger brother Philip, the first Valois duke of Burgundy. After four years of deliberation, Louis of Male acquiesced, and Philip the Bold married Margaret of Flanders in Ghent on 19th June 1369.⁴ In a single stroke, England was parried away from Flanders, and Margaret's entire inheritance brought under French, and specifically Burgundian, control. Charles V could not have foreseen that this union, so opportune at the time, would have dreadful consequences for France in the years to come.

When King Charles V died in 1380, leaving behind an eleven-year-old successor, Charles VI, the government of France was divided among the deceased king's brothers, Louis, John, and Philip, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy. Yet despite this initial equality of authority, Duke Philip of Burgundy gained an ascendant position, as Louis of Anjou became engrossed in external affairs in Provence and Italy, and John of Berry contented himself with the pursuit of books, baubles, and courtly pleasures. During most of the 1380's, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was the dominant political force in France.⁵

1 ACO, B 294, liasse, no folio.

2 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 138-139; and d'Arbaumont, *Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 49.

3 Froissart, *Chroniques*, VI, 359.

4 Petit, *Itinéraires*, p. 56.

5 Froissart, *Chroniques*, IX, 464-472; and Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Livre des trahisons*, p. 1.

Philip's stewardship of the nation terminated with the end of the minority of Charles VI in 1388.⁶ But the cessation of the Burgundian hegemony was of brief duration, for shortly an event transpired which was to have a most profound effect on French internal and external affairs for the next sixty years: on 5th August 1392, King Charles VI went mad.

Charles's seizure occurred as he marched out of Le Mans in a punitive raid against John IV, duke of Brittany. The incident has been succinctly recorded by the monk of St. Denis:

The fifth of the month, despite the protestations of his uncles and parents, the king had published, by voice of herald and sound of trumpet, an order to take up arms; he departed the town armed from head to foot, at the front of his troops. But scarcely had he passed the hospital for the lepers when he was confronted by a poor wretch dressed in rags who caused him a great fright. Despite the efforts to keep this man at a distance, he followed the king for nearly half an hour, crying to him in a terrible voice: «go no further, noble king, for you are betrayed.» The imagination of the king, already troubled, accepted these words. Then a new incident succeeded in deranging his mind. One of the men at arms who rode at his side, finding himself pressed by the crowd, dropped his sword. At the sound of the crashing iron, the king was suddenly seized in a frenzy; in his derangement he charged from one side to the other with an extreme rapidity, striking with his sword his friends and those who came to his side and crying: «They wish to betray me to my enemies.»⁷

Before he was finally subdued, Charles had killed four of his own men. Tied to a wagon, he was transported to Le Mans where, three weeks later, he regained his senses.⁸ The recovery was only temporary: for the remaining thirty years of his reign, Charles alternated between lucidity and progressively longer periods of insanity. Sadly, France was saddled with a vegetable in regal attire.

⁶ Froissart, *Chroniques*, XIV, 39.

⁷ Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, II, 18-20: Mensis eciam quinta die, a patruis et cognatis non potuit immutari, quin voce preconia lituisque precinentibus stipendiarios armari preciperet. Sed armatus de villa exiens, cum acies usque ad leproariam transduxisset, quemdam abjectissimum virum obvium habuit, qui eum terruit vehementer. Is nec nimis nec terroribus potuit cohiberi quin regi pertranseunti terribiliter clamando fere per dimidiam horam hec verba reiteraret: «Non progrediaris ulterius, insigne rex, quia cito prodendus es?» Cui cito assenciit ejus ymaginatio jam turbata; quam et in furorem vertit casus sequens. Inter turmas equitancium prope ipsum cujusdam servientis gladius ad terram cecidit, cum nimis opprimeretur. Cujus fragore rex furore subito commotus est, et quasi alienatus a sensibus servientem ense vibrato interfecit. Eodem ex tunc impetu equum velocissimum urgere cepit calcaribus, et fere per horam integram huc illucque discurrendo et clamando: «Sum ego adversariis tradendus» nunc amicos, nunc ignotos occidere conabatur, qui ante ipsum velut ab ictu choruscantis fulguris fugiebant.

⁸ Bailly, *Guerre de cent ans*, p. 128.

Once again Philip the Bold took the reigns of the kingdom, directing the royal finances for his personal gain and setting the pliable French monarchy on a course accordant with his own dynastic ambitions. Philip's authority, however, did not go completely unchallenged. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, Louis, the petulant younger brother of Charles VI, since 1392 duke of Orléans, demanded that as nearest kin to Charles, he have the loudest voice in French policy and concomitantly the largest hand in the royal treasury.⁹ But in spite of their antagonism, the conflict between the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy never degenerated into warfare. Louis knew he could not match Philip's resources, political acumen, or military experience. As long as Philip the Bold remained alive, France would enjoy peace with England and peace at home.

But Philip did not stay alive for long: he died in April 1404, at the age of sixty-two. The Burgundian state now fell to John, Philip's eldest son. A newcomer to the political arena, John the Fearless possessed all of his father's ambition but none of his patience or persuasiveness. John's solution to the problems caused by Louis of Orléans was a violent one: he had his enemy slain in the streets of Paris on the night of 23rd November 1407.¹⁰ The long-latent civil war between the Orléanists, or Armagnacs as they were called,¹¹ and the Burgundians burst upon France in full fury. The enfeebled French monarchy was powerless to stop it.

As France was being dismembered by the events of the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war, a new misery came to plague the country. Late in the summer of 1415, Henry V of England landed his army near the mouth of the Seine, captured the port city of Harfleur, and was heading for Calais when he was finally cut off by the French at the small town of Agincourt. Fortunately for Henry, the French had learned little from the past seventy-five years of sporadic warfare; as at Crécy and Poitiers, the English made numerical inferiority work to their advantage and cut the lumbering French to shreds.¹² Two years later, Henry V returned to Normandy and began the systematic conquest of northern France that eventually led him to Paris.

Had the Burgundians and Armagnacs united, they could have driven the invaders off French soil. To this end, a series of peace parleys was called during the summer of 1419. But all hopes for a *rapprochement* vanished at the conference at Montreuil in September 1419 when the Burgundian duke, John the Fearless, was murdered by the Armagnacs. The new duke of Burgundy, Philip (later called «the Good»), and his vengeful Burgundians now embraced the English. With the active support of the French queen, Philip and Henry V concluded the Treaty of Troyes (May 1420) which stripped the dauphin (the

⁹ D'Avout, *Querelle*, pp. 17-18 and 26-28.

¹⁰ Baye, *Journal*, I, 206-207.

¹¹ After the murder of Louis of Orléans, the enemies of John the Fearless took their name from their new leader, Bernard VII, count of Armagnac.

¹² Colorful contemporary descriptions of the battle of Agincourt can be found in Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, I, 224-259; Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 340-343; Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, V, 553-563; and Fenin, *Mémoires*, pp. 59-67.

future Charles VII) of his inheritance and placed the crown of France on the head of the English king.¹³ The abasement of the French monarchy was complete.

* * * * *

As France deteriorated, so Burgundy grew strong. The French decline allowed the Burgundian dukes readily to acquire lands surrounding their duchy. Likewise to the north, in the Low Countries, conditions were ripe for territorial aggrandizement. The rulers of independent principalities like Brabant, Hainaut, Limbourg, and Luxembourg were weak and divided. Burgundy, an emerging third state, was able to fill a vacuum of power along the border of France and the Low Countries. The Burgundian dominion, however, was never a geographical entity. There were two centers: the duchy of Burgundy in eastern France and, three-hundred miles to the north, the county of Flanders near, and partially in, the Low Countries. With revenues flowing into their growing treasury from such wealthy commercial towns of Flanders as Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and from the rich agricultural lands of Burgundy, the dukes of Burgundy could easily afford to make their court the most splendid in France.

Philip the Bold was the founder of the Burgundian state. What was he like, this man who has been correctly described as the most remarkable prince of the age?¹⁴ His childhood was anything but sheltered. Born to King John the Good and his wife Bonne of Luxembourg in 1342, Philip at the age of fourteen was captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers. He had acquitted himself bravely in the fight, shouting to his father: «Père, gardez-vous à droite! Père, gardez-vous à gauche!»¹⁵ This courageous conduct earned him the name «the Bold.»¹⁶ The next three years (1357-1360) he spent as a prisoner in England where he played chess with the famous Black Prince (Edward of Woodstock, first son of Edward III and father of Richard II) and studied under King John's chaplain, Gace de la Buigne.¹⁷ It was for Philip that Gace, more an expert on venery than religion, wrote his long didactic poem *Deduiz de la chasse*, «in order that sire Philip... learn ways to avoid the sin of idleness and that he be better informed in manners [and] in virtues.»¹⁸ Released along with his father in 1360, Philip returned to the Valois court in Paris, the same court which Petrarch visited in 1361 and where Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut were frequent guests.¹⁹ On 26th November 1364, Philip at the age of twenty-two was formally invested with the duchy of Burgundy.²⁰

13 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, VI, 411-431.

14 Mirot, «État bourguignon-flamand,» p. 69.

15 Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, p. 11.

16 Venette, *Chronicle*, p. 219; and Froissart, *Chroniques*, VI, 453.

17 La Marche, *Mémoires*, I, 60.

18 Doutrepoint, *Littérature française*, p. 267: afin que messire Phelippe... apreist des deduis pour eschiver la pechié d'oiseuse et qu'il en fust mieux enseigné en meurs, en vertus.

19 Lehoux, *Jean de France*, I, 35.

20 Bazin, «Bourgogne,» p. 48, n. 1.

As for Philip's physical appearance and character, his contemporaries are the best witnesses. The iconography of the period depicts him as strong, heavy set, with broad features (see plate 3, p. 54).²¹ A citizen of Burgundy substantiated this testimony when he called the duke «dark and ugly» (he was subsequently fined).²² Coeval chroniclers found Philip praiseworthy. Jean Juvenal des Ursins calls him «valiant, wise and prudent.»²³ Froissart says, «The duke of Burgundy was wise and imaginative, and saw to his affairs well in advance.»²⁴ The monk of St. Denis attests to his honesty and forensic skill: «The depletion of the royal treasury obliged the duke to borrow from the clergy and the people; later he reimbursed them that sum just as he had promised, a circumstance so extraordinary that it appeared incredible to the common people...»²⁵ «He deployed in that situation all of the resources of that natural eloquence which distinguished him among all the dukes of the realm.»²⁶ Monstrelet tells us that Philip «prudently and ably governed the affairs of France.»²⁷ Finally, Christine de Pisan affirms that «[this] prince was of kingly sense and good counsel, was kind and amiable to people of all classes, [and] loved all good people; magnanimous as an Alexander, noble and pontifical in court and magnificent in state, he loved his people dearly.»²⁸ In the contemporary view, Philip the Bold was sagacious, kind, ambitious, urbane, and extravagant.

Whatever Philip did, he did in a grand manner. No court in France, not even the royal household, was more magnificent. Horses imported from Spain, gold from Cyprus, cloth from Damascus, and delicious wines from Beaune were part of the Burgundian life style. Every event—jousts, marriages, christenings, diplomatic missions, even pilgrimages—occasioned luxuriant display. Often Philip's ostentation had a political motive, to impress a visitor or host with the wealth and power of Burgundy. When Philip entered the contumacious city of Ghent in 1386, he wore a robe sewn with pearls valued at 50,000 francs,²⁹ and in the same year he gave the duke of Berry a goblet inlaid with one hundred and

21 See Liebreich, «Quelques portraits,» pp. 89-96.

22 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 11.

23 Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 196.

24 Froissart, *Chroniques*, XV, 54: Le duc de Bourgogne qui estoit sage et ymaginatif, et sur ces besoingnes veoit tout au long.

25 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, I, 350: ob inopiam regalis erarii, ipsam a prelatis et regnicolis, tituto accomodati, quesivit; quam postmodum, ut promiserat, persolvit; quod tunc, quia non solitum, vulgaribus incredibile videbatur.

26 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, I, 530: Sicut eidem inerat sponte fluentis eloquii inter omnes duces regni prerogativa singularis.

27 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 31.

28 Pisan, *Livre des fais*, I, 150-151: [ce] prince estoit de souverain sens et bon conseil, doulz estoit et aimable à grans, moyens et petiz, [et] les bons amoit de tous estas; large comme un Alixandre, noble et pontifical en court et estat magnificent, ses gens amoit moult chierement.

29 Kervyn de Lettenhove, «Chapitre inédit de Froissart,» p. 56.

twenty large pearls, twenty-two rubies, and twenty-four sapphires.³⁰ King Charles VI and his retinue were welcomed to Dijon in 1390 by three hundred ladies of Burgundy who had been dressed and jeweled at the duke's expense.³¹ In 1383, Philip founded a Carthusian monastery at Champmol, just to the north of Dijon, where four hundred workmen were soon employed to construct a complex of buildings that was to house twice the usual monastic complement.³² Claus Sluter, the greatest sculptor of the age and the personal «Ymagier» of the duke, was commissioned to execute effigies of Philip and Margaret for the abbey. More than a monument of piety, the monastery of Champmol stood as a memorial to the glory of Philip the Bold and his descendants.

Philip was not only the most munificent of the princes, he was also the most peripatetic. Because Flanders and Burgundy were more than one hundred and fifty miles apart at the closest point, the duke of Burgundy spent much time moving himself and the personnel of his court from one town to another. The ducal retinue, varying in size from fifty to three hundred and fifty, included soldiers, squires, councillors, chaplains, minstrels, bakers, cooks, valets, pages, and other sundry attendants, all of whom had to be transported by horseback or wagon. Paris, equidistant from Flanders and Burgundy, served as Philip's base of operation, and about half of his days were passed in or around the capital. Two or three months of each year he usually devoted to inspecting his possessions in Burgundy where Duchess Margaret was more or less a permanent inhabitant. Naturally, it was necessary for such an itinerant prince to maintain many residences. In addition to the ducal palace in Dijon, there were the manors of Germolles, Talent, Rouvres, and Montbard nestled in the Burgundian countryside. As count of Flanders and Artois, Philip owned castles in Arras, Lille, Sluis, Ghent, and Bruges.³³ In Paris, he kept the hôtel d'Artois and the hôtel de Bourgogne and, just to the east of the city, the hôtel de Conflans. Of the Parisian abodes, the hôtel d'Artois was the largest and the one most frequented by the duke.³⁴

The last expedition of Philip the Bold, a visit to Joan, duchess of Brabant, was begun in the spring of 1404. While dining with the duchess in Brussels to the music of minstrels from various countries, Philip was taken ill and carried to the small town of Hal where he died on 27th April. The chronicler Monstrelet gives us a good account of these events:

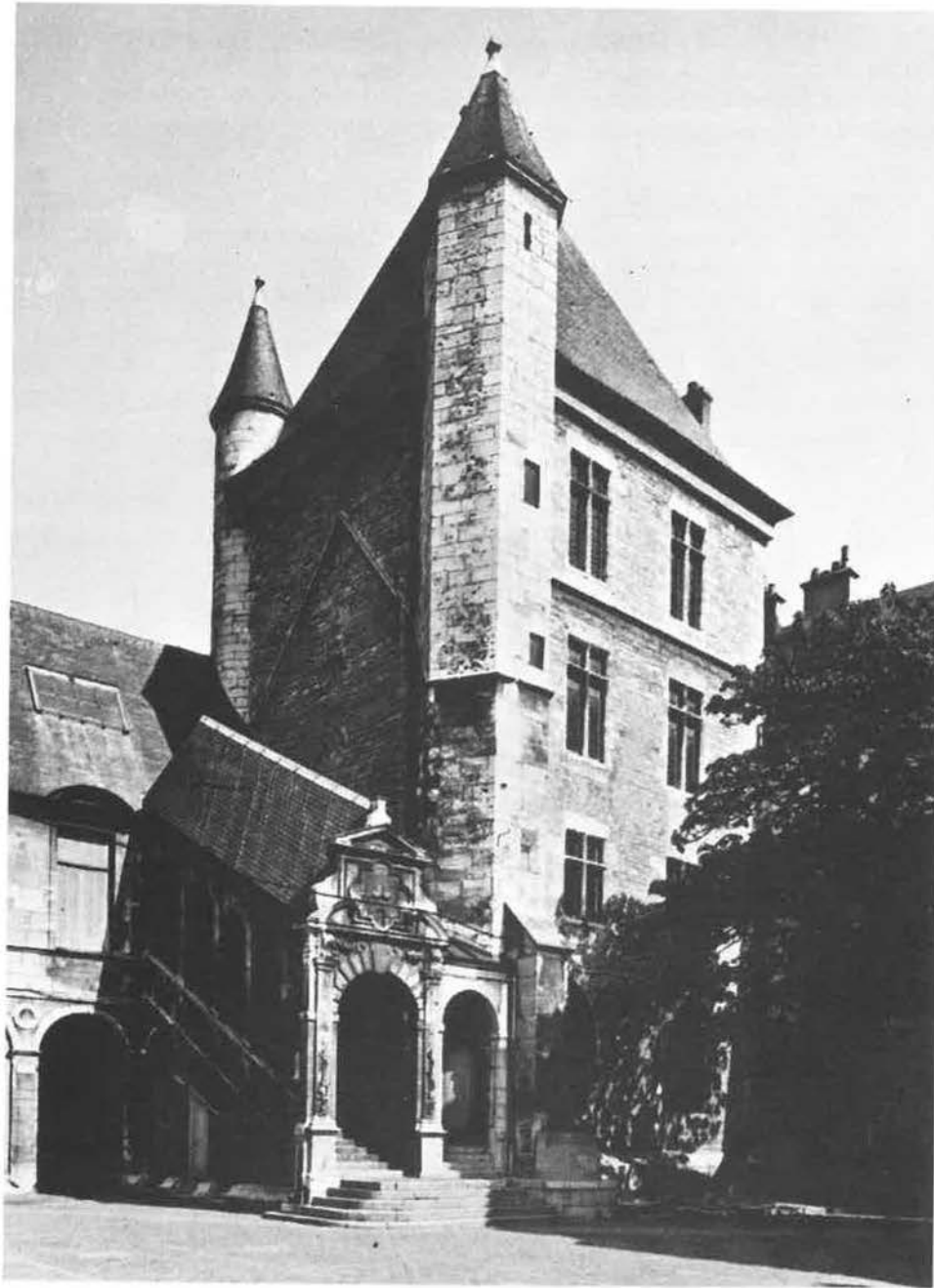
30 Petit, *Itinéraires*, p. 519.
 31 Petit, *Entrée du roi Charles Six*, p. 60.
 32 Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 21; and Monget, *Chartreuse de Dijon*, I, 24-35.
 33 Calmette, *Golden Age*, p. 69.
 34 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 26-39.
 35 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 30-31.
 36 Cartellieri, *Court of Burgundy*, p. 34.

At the beginning of this year, the good duke of Burgundy, Philip, son to king John, and brother to Charles the Rich, caused himself to be carried in a litter from the town of Brussels, in Brabant, to Halle, in Hainault. That the horses which carried him might travel more safely, and he be less shaken, labourers advanced before the litter, with spades and pick-axes, to repair and smooth the roads. When at Halle, he fixed his lodgings near to the church of our Lady, at an hôtel bearing the sign of the Stag; and, finding his disorder increase, he sent for his three sons, namely John count de Nevers, Anthony, and Philip. On their arrival, he entreated and commanded them to be loyal and obedient, during their lives, to king Charles of France and to his successors, and made them promise obedience on their love to him. This engagement the three princes readily granted to their lord and father, who then assigned to each such lordships and estates as they were to hold after his decease, and specified the manner in which he intended they should enjoy them. All these, and various other arrangements, were wisely ordered by the duke in a manner becoming such a prince, who had a good memory in his last moments. When he had finished these matters, he died in this hôtel.³⁵

The obsequies of the duke of Burgundy provided the opportunity for one final extravaganza (even though the ducal plate and jewelry had to be pawned to finance it).³⁶ The body was embalmed, the heart sent toward Paris to rest at St. Denis, and the entrails buried on the spot. The corpse was then dressed in the habit of a Carthusian monk and placed on a hearse covered with gold brocade and drawn by six horses in black harnesses. Behind the coffin rode the duke's sons, John and Anthony, accompanied by sixty torch-bearers and a countless number of household personnel, including sixteen singers of the ducal chapel, all clothed in new mourning robes.³⁷ The procession made its way from Hal through Courtrai, Lille, Douai, Saint-Quentin, Troyes, and Bar-sur-Seine, until it neared Dijon. On the outskirts of the city, the cortège was joined by one hundred *pleurants* carrying torches and dressed in black.³⁸ Finally, on 16th June 1404, Philip the Bold was interred in his still unfinished Charterhouse of Champmol.

John the Fearless accompanied his father's funeral train as far as Douai. From there, he proceeded to Paris where, on 23rd May 1404, he did homage to Charles VI for the duchy of Burgundy.³⁹ Before 1404, John had lived very much in Philip the Bold's shadow. His youth had been spent in Burgundy, usually at the old Capetian manor of Rouvres (where he had been born in 1371) or at the ducal palace in Dijon. And although he was nominally invested as count of Nevers in 1384, he in fact neither governed his appanage nor enjoyed its income. Instead, he was granted a yearly allowance of 24,000 *livres* from the ducal treasury.⁴⁰ From this position of dependency and subordination, John was suddenly called to rule the Burgundian state.

37 Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp. 574-579.
 38 Dijon, Archives municipales, M 49, fol. 83v [XXXIV].
 39 Bibl. nat., CB 95, fol. 221.
 40 Mirot, «Jean sans Peur de 1398 à 1405,» p. 133.



1. The Tour de Bar of the palace of the dukes of Burgundy in Dijon.

Like his father, the new duke of Burgundy found it expedient to direct his affairs from Paris. He too realized that, as long as the feeble-minded king remained in the capital, the lord of Paris would also be the lord of the French government. When conditions demanded, John would vacate Paris and personally administer the Burgundian feudatory. Burgundy, however, would seem to have required less of his attention than Flanders; the total time John the Fearless spent in his duchy during the fifteen years of his reign amounted to no more than one year.⁴¹

A small man with an aquiline nose, a wry smile, and an undershot jaw, John the Fearless is not remembered as an especially attractive or likeable prince. Less catholic in taste than Philip the Bold, John surrounded himself with a protective coterie of loyal officers to whom he was just and generous. But with his adversaries, real or imagined, cruelty characterized his actions, duplicity marked his diplomacy. «Debonaire toward his friends, fierce against his enemies,» is an anonymous fifteenth-century poet's appraisal of John the Fearless.⁴² Any means—flattery, bribery, confiscation, even murder—was acceptable if it served to advance the cause of Burgundy.

Ironically, John's sobriquet, «sans Peur,» is a misnomer: this man who engendered such fear in others likewise lived in fear. To guarantee his safety, special chambers were constructed in the hôtel d'Artois, and a bodyguard was kept constantly at his side. Olivier de la Marche tells us that the duke trusted no one and at all times carried a dagger under his coat: «This Duke John was very courageous and stout of heart, and was a sly, distrustful, and suspicious man and confided in no one. And because of this he was always armed under his robe and always had a sword chained at his side, and made himself redoubtable and feared above all other persons.»⁴³ Brilliantly opportunistic, cunning, and ruthless, John the Fearless in many ways already personified the prince whom Machiavelli was to describe a century later.

Burgundian court life under the suspicious and sometimes austere John the Fearless was only slightly less brilliant than it had been under his predecessor. Like Philip, John had a yearly income of more than 400,000 *livres*, and both spent about one-third of this sum to maintain the essential services of the Burgundian court.⁴⁴ For the most part, John continued to finance the artistic projects begun by his father. Work on the Charterhouse of Champmol proceeded without interruption and, excepting perhaps the earliest years of his

41 Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp. 341-451; Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 153-155 and 173; and Varenbergh, «Marguerite de Bavière,» pp. 334-345.

42 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Pastoralet*, in *Livre des trahisons*, p. 580: Débonaires à ses amis Et fiers contre ses anemis.

43 La Marche, *Mémoires*, I, 83: Cestui duc Jehan fut moult courageux et de grant coer, et fut homme subtil, douteux et souppechonneux, et ne se fioit pas en chascun. Et à ceste cause il estoit tousjours armé soubz sa robe, et avoit tousjours son espée chainte, et se faisoit doubter et craindre sur tous aultres.

44 Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 120.

reign, painters and sculptors were patronized more or less as before, as were the ducal minstrels and singers of the chapel. But the exigencies of the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war demanded much of John's time and money, and he was unable to initiate new projects of his own. Philip the Bold could afford to lavish money on the arts because, on the whole, he did not fight wars. John the Fearless did; and he expended his excess revenues to support his army.

By means of diplomacy, marriage, conquest, and good fortune, Philip the Bold and John the Fearless elevated Burgundy from a dependency of the French crown to a major European power. In a period in which France was vitiated by internal warfare and neglect, Burgundy enjoyed not only efficient administration, but relative peace and prosperity.⁴⁵ Burgundian court life grew so in material well-being and artistic excellence that the third duke, Philip the Good, came to merit the appellation «the Grand Duke of the West.» But there was little innovativeness at the court of Burgundy under this Philip. His patronage of the arts, his encouragement of literature, his music—all were taken over from his immediate predecessors.⁴⁶ The grandeur of Burgundy under Philip the Good was built squarely upon the legacy of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless.

45 D'Avout, *Querelle*, p. 162.
46 Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 160.

The Patriarchs

It was under this nimbus of ascending political and economic fortunes that Burgundian art began and flourished. Like the art of every age, this manifestation was neither insulated nor isolated; it too had its form and direction determined by tradition and precedent. Tradition, or stylized form, pervaded every aspect of late-mediaeval life, from the intricacy of the poetic «formes fixes» to the impracticality of the armored cavalry charge. The musical institutions of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless were certainly no exception. How much of the rich musical life of the court of Burgundy was a perpetuation of the long-standing traditions, and how much reflected the personal tastes of the dukes? This can be determined only by comparing the musical institutions of Burgundy to those of earlier courts. If we hope to evaluate the degree of musical innovation under the patronage of Philip the Bold and his successor, we must know of the musical institutions of the patriarchs whose progeny created the Burgundian state; we must know of music at the courts of John the Good, king of France, and Louis of Male, count of Flanders.

John the Good, second king of France of the house of Valois and father to Philip the Bold, ruled France between 1350 and 1364. Ironically, the most detailed record of life at the court of this French king comes from the period of his captivity in England (1357-1360). Following the defeat and capture of the French monarch at the battle of Poitiers (1356), the victorious English led the prisoner-king and his son Philip the Bold to London where they were welcomed with «grant joie» and conducted through the streets to sounds «à trompes et à nakaires.»¹ In recognition of John's chivalrous behavior at Poitiers, the English allowed the French sovereign a large measure of personal freedom. The palace of the Savoy was placed at his disposal and a small number of his domestic personnel imported from France. A journal of the receipts and expenses of this household staff has survived and affords us an insight into the musical activities at John's court in captivity.

Resident and itinerant minstrels were always on the scene. Of the resident minstrels in John's employ, the most important was Coppin de Brequin, described throughout the account books as the «roy des menestereulx.»² Coppin had entered John's service in November 1349³ and had succeeded Robert

1 Froissart, *Chroniques*, VI, 14.

2 The king of the minstrels was the leader of the guild or corporation of minstrels which existed in France and in other European countries during the late Middle Ages. In France, he was appointed by the king and was usually attached to the royal court. The duties of the king of the minstrels were comparable to those of a present day musicians' union official: to judge the aptitude of the candidates to the profession; to set the terms of apprenticeship; to establish uniform fees for performance; and to collect fines from those who violated the rules of the corporation (see Bernhard, «Recherches,» pp. 394-397).

3 Prost, «Liste des artistes,» p. 433, n. 1.

de Caveron as king of the minstrels sometime after 1350.⁴ In addition to being a performing musician at court, Coppin was also a purveyor of musical instruments for the king. An entry in the royal accounts dated 21st April 1360 tells us that Coppin had been ordered by the king to go to Chichester to appraise «certain instruments of which the king had heard speak.»⁵ During this trip, he must have purchased at least one instrument, because he was soon reimbursed thirteen sous, two deniers, for a harp that he had bought.⁶ A second minstrel, Saxonnet de Reins, is listed among the king's servants at this time, but no mention is made of the instrument he played. Naturally, the prodigal French king extended handsome remuneration to the minstrels of the visiting lords who frequented the Valois court. In February 1359, Maciet and Thomelin, two minstrels of the king of Scotland (David Bruce) were granted twenty nobles,⁷ and in June of the following year the minstrels of the king of England (Edward III), the prince of Wales (Edward of Woodstock), and the duke of Lancaster (John of Gaunt) were recompensed twice that amount for the entertainment they provided on the feast of St. John the Baptist, 24th June 1360.⁸

The limitation which the English council had placed on the size of King John's household staff meant that during John's detention in England, the number of singers in the royal chapel had to be substantially reduced. Before his capture, John had supported what was probably the largest court chapel in western Europe. In the spring of 1353, for instance, John employed nine chaplains and eight clerks to perform the divine service, though it is not certain that all of these men were professional musicians.⁹ By the spring of 1359, that number had been cut to five:¹⁰

Jean Roussel	Chapellain
Caletot	[clerk]
Barbatre	[clerk]
Clément	[clerk]
Baudement	[sommelier]

4 Lehoux, *Jean de France*, I, 39, n. 1.

5 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 241: Mardi XXIe d'avril. Le roy des menestereulx, qui du commandement du Roy ala Chicestre veoir certains instrumens dont le Roy avoit oy parler, pour ce, baillié à faire sa despense, du commandement du Roy, 4 nobles, valent 26s 8d.

The reduced size of the king's household required that Coppin act as a factotum in his sovereign's service. On one occasion, he was ordered to convey a load of harnesses to the king (*Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 242). He also functioned as master of the king's horologe and as such was responsible for buying and repairing the royal clocks (*Comptes de l'argenterie*, pp. 209-237).

6 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 248.

7 Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, p. 106.

8 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, pp. 263-264. A list of the minstrels of Edward III and Edward of Woodstock is given in Rastall, «Minstrels,» pp. 15-22.

9 In an account ending on 1st May 1353 the following royal chaplains are listed: Gasse de la Buigne, Arnoul de Grant Pont, Nicole Despernay, Gieffroy le Boutellier, Symon de Bernaville, Estienne de Trois Maisons, Denis Chandery, Nicole de Moustiers, and Bertaut le Boulengier. The clerks of the chapel included Jean le Picart, Guy de Semur, Robert Bresson, Regnaut de Saint German, Heinart, Viry, Cabeul, and Caletot (Archives nationales, KK 8, fol. 169).

10 Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, p. 118.

This seemingly drastic reduction, however, may have been more illusory than real. There were several men at court listed as chaplains who were not officially part of the royal chapel: Yves Derian¹¹ and Jean le Royer (later the successor to Philippe de Vitry as bishop of Meaux)¹² were assigned as secretaries to the king; Denis de Collors acted as treasurer; Guillaume Racine served as physician; while Gace de la Buigne taught venery and falconry to the king's son.¹³ These chaplains on occasion probably joined with the regular members of the chapel to perform polyphonic vocal music before King John, and three of them, Denis, Guillaume, and Gace, can be shown to have had special interests in music. Denis de Collors later became *chantre* at the cathedral of Meaux.¹⁴ Guillaume Racine began his career at the Valois court as a minstrel of the *vielle*, and an order of payment issued in 1355 shows that he had played his instrument before the king in that year.¹⁵ During his stay in England, Guillaume completed his studies for the priesthood and received a gift of ten nobles at his first mass which he «sang before the king.»¹⁶ Gace de la Buigne, who had been retained by King John in the important post of first chaplain of the royal chapel as early as 1351,¹⁷ enlivened the pedagogical poem he wrote for Philip the Bold, the *Deduiz de la chasse*, with many musical comparisons. In the following passage, the author makes a rather strained analogy between the noise of the hounds and the sounds of the royal chapel:

Adonques y a telle noise
 Qu'il n'est homs qui sur deux pieds
 voise
 Qui onc oyst tel mélodie;
 Car n'est respons ne alleluie,
 Et feust chantée en la Chappelle
 Du Roy, qui là est bonne et belle,
 Qui si très grant plaisance face
 Comme est ouïr une tel chace.

11 For biographical information on Yves Derian, see Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 571, n. 7.

12 *Gallia Christiana*, VIII, cols. 1636-1637: Johannes Royer. Johanni regi, ac duci Normanniae, delphino Viennensi a consiliis Johannes, episcopus Meldensis a rege nominatus est 2. Februarii 1361 nunc 1362.... Ultimum vitae diem clausit die Lunae post festum apostolorum Petri & Pauli anno 1378....

13 Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, pp. 117-125.

14 The duties of the *chantre*, according to a directive issued for the Sainte Chapelle of Paris in 1405, were to instruct the other chaplains and clerks in reading, plainsong, discant, and pronunciation («corrigere in lectura, cantu, discantu, accentu, & aliis divinum concernentibus obsequium,» Félibien, *Histoire*, III, 133-134). For further biographical information on Denis, see Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, pp. 21-23.

15 Sauval, *Histoire*, III, 531.

16 Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, p. 129: Le Roy, pour offerande faicte par li à la messe nouvelle que le Chapellain, maistre Guillaume Racine, chanta lors devant le Roy, X nobles valent LXVIs VIIIId.

17 La Buigne, *Roman des deduis*, p. 7.

Les uns vont chantant le motet,
 Les autres font double hoquet,
 Les plus grans chântent la teneur,
 Les autres la contre teneur;
 Ceux qui ont la plus clere gueule,
 Chantent la tresble sans demeure,
 Et les plus petits le quadrouble,
 En faisant la quinte surdoublé.
 Les uns font semithon mineur,
 Les autres semithon majeur,
 Diapenthe, diapazon,
 Les autres diathessaron.¹⁸

Gace also appears to have been an excellent judge of musical talent when he says:

Phelippe de Vitry ot nom,
 Qui mieulx fist motés que nulz hom.¹⁹

These excerpts suggest that four-part motets by the great composers of the age were well known to the members of the «bonne et belle» chapel of John the Good. We can be certain that the library of King John contained at least one book of motets, because in 1349-1350 an illuminator, Jean de Wirmes, was paid nineteen *livres*, eight deniers of Paris, «pour avoir enluminé un livre de motez.»²⁰

- 18 La Buigne, *Roman des deduis*, pp. 375-376; and Marix, *Histoire*, p. 14, n. 1:
 And then there was a noise
 Like a melody that no man
 Who walks on two feet has ever heard:
 Because there is no responsory or alleluia
 That was ever sung in the Chapel
 Of the King, which is good and pleasing,
 That gives so very great pleasure
 As there is to be heard on such a chase.
 Some go singing the motetus,
 Others make double hocquet
 The largest sing the tenor,
 The others the contratenor,
 Those who have the clearest throat
 Sing the treble without delay,
 And the smallest the quadruple,
 In making a fifth which doubles.
 Some make a major or minor semitone,
 Fifth, octave,
 And others a fourth.

- 19 La Buigne, *Roman des deduis*, p. 316:
 Philippe de Vitry was his name,
 Who made motets better than any man.
 20 Delisle, *Librairie de Charles V*, I, 333.

Two members of the royal court appear to have been organists. One of them, described in the accounts simply as «Maistre Jehan, l'organier,» was recompensed in April of 1360 for having repaired the organ of the king and provided new skins for the bellows, and for having paid to have the bellows pumped and the instrument transported from Somerton Castle to Navenby and from Somerton Castle to London:²¹

[To] Master Jean, the organist, who came by command of the king, from London to Somerton, in order to repair the organ of the king, for his expenses because of said organ: first, for treated skins and other things necessary for the reparation of said organ, 3 sous, 4 deniers; for one man who pumped the bellows for 3 days, 18 deniers; for carrying said organ from Somerton to Navenby, 10 deniers; for the compensation paid by master Jean to Nicole, 8 deniers. For his expenses for three weeks at Navenby where he remained while repairing said organ, 13 sous, 4 deniers: for his expense and that of 2 valets who carried the organ from Somerton to London in 10 days, each day, 2 sous, 6 deniers, totalling 25 sous. For the salary of said valets, 2 nobles, totalling 13 sous, 4 deniers. In sum for all, 58 sous. To him for his salary for the 3 weeks that he was in Navenby in order to repair said organ, 20 sous.²²

The other organist, Clément Petit, was a clerk in the king's chapel. Clément, who later was to serve as chaplain to both Charles V and Charles VI and lead the royal singers at the wedding of John the Fearless at Cambrai in 1385,²³ took his turn at repairing and supervising the transportation of the king's organ:

21 Somerton Castle was located six miles south of Lincoln and Navenby about a mile east of Somerton.

22 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, pp. 239-240: [A] Maistre Jehan, l'organier, qui vint du commandement du Roy, de Londres à Somerton, pour appareiller les orgues du Roy, pour despence faicte par li à cause des dictes orgues: Primo, pour peaux de mégis et autres choses neccessaires à la réparation de dictes orgues, 3s 4d. Pour l'homme qui souffla par 3 jours, 18d. Pour pourter les dictes orgues de Somerton à Anneby, 10d. Pour les despens dudit maistre J. à Nicole, 8d. Pour ses despens faiz par 3 semaines à Anneby où il demora en rappareillant les dictes orgues, 13s 4d. Pour les despens de li et de 2 varlez qui asportèrent les orgues de Somerton à Londres par 10 jours, chacun jour, 2s 6d, valent 25s. Pour le salaire des diz varlez, 2 nobles, valent 13s 4d. Pour tout, 58s. A li, pour son salaire par 3 semaines qu'il fu à Namby pour appareiller les dictes orgues, 20s.

The mediaeval mind thought of the organ as a plural object. Only one instrument is in question here.

23 In 1388, Clément Petit sold an organ to Philip the Bold for one hundred francs which was put into the duke's hôtel d'Artois (ACO, B 1475, fol. 60v [LXv]; doc. 68). By September 1396, Clément had been removed as first chaplain to the king and given the position of treasurer of the Sainte Chapelle. He last appears in this post in March of 1399 and died on 22nd October of that year (Archives nationales, KK 27, fol. 25v; *Gallia Christiana*, VII, col. 243; and Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, I, part 2, 817 and 822). For additional information about Clément's activities at the royal chapel, see Douët-d'Arcq, *Nouveau Recueil de comptes*, pp. 190 and 269; and Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel*, pp. 96, 183, and 230.

[To] Clément, clerk of the chapel, for 2 valets who carried the organ of the king from London to Hertford, 4 sous. ²⁴

[To] Clément, clerk of the chapel, in order to carry the organ from Hertford to London by 2 valets, and for string to tie it, 7 sous, 3 deniers. ²⁵

[To] Clément, clerk of the chapel, for 2 treated skins to repair the bellows of the organ, 14 deniers; and for nails, paste, and thread, 8 deniers. In sum for all, 22 deniers. ²⁶

There can be little doubt that Clément Petit also performed on this instrument; organists of the late Middle Ages were charged to tune, repair, and oversee the transport of their instruments «in addition to fulfilling their musical functions.»²⁷ Clément even provided a bench for the organ:

[To] Clément, for a sitting bench for playing the organ, 4 deniers. ²⁸

Judging from the number of times it was transported and repaired, this large portative organ must have enjoyed almost constant use. ²⁹

Besides the royal organ and harp, there was at least one other instrument which sounded before John the Good and Philip the Bold while they were in England. An entry in the account books dated 4th July 1360 states that the king of England presented the king of France with an instrument called the echiquier—a clavichord—which had been made and carried to the French king by Jean Perrot, a piper in the service of the English monarch:

[To] Jean Perrot, who carried to the king 1 instrument called the echiquier which he [Jean] had made, and which the king of England had given to the king and sent it by said Jean; as a gift made to him,

24 Duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents*, p. 210: [A] Climent, cleric de Chapelle, pour II varlet qui apportèrent les orgues du Roy de Londres à Erthford, IIIIs.

25 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 214: [A] Clément, cleric de la chapelle, pour faire porter les orgues de Herthford à Londres, par 2 varlez, et pour cordes à les lier, 7s 3d.

26 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 221: [A] Climent, cleric de la chapelle, pour 2 peaulx de mégis pour les soufflez des orgues appareillier, 14d; et pour clos, cole et fil, 8d. Pour tout, 22d.

27 Rokseth, *Musique d'orgue*, p. 22.

28 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 256: [A] Climent, pour une formète à soir pour jouer des orgues, 4d.

29 It is tantalizing to suppose a connection between King John's captivity and interest in organ music, and the Robertsbridge fragments (London, British Museum, Additional MS 28550) which date from approximately the same period. The Robertsbridge MS includes organ intabulations of two motets, *Tribum—Quoniam secta—Merito* and *Firmissime—Adesto sancta—Alleluia Benedictus*, both probably by Philippe de Vitry (see Schrade, «Philippe de Vitry,» p. 352). Vitry was John's *maître des requêtes* from 1346-1350, and it was at the king's urging that he was appointed bishop of Meaux in 1351 (Coville, «Philippe de Vitry,» pp. 526-531).

as reported by sire J. le Royer, 20 nobles, totalling 6 livres, 13 sous, 4 deniers. ³⁰

Some twenty-five years later John's son Philip was to acquire an instrument of this sort for his own chapel. ³¹

In July 1359, several members of the royal household were forced to return to France when the English council decided on a further reduction in the size of John's court. Listed among the musicians of the chapel who departed was one Pierre de Molins, probably the composer of that name who came from Paris. Pierre had likely joined King John in England during the summer of 1357. At the time of his departure for France, John presented him with a gift of forty-six *écus*. The safe-conduct issued by Edward III on 21st July 1359 states that «Perotus de Molyno» travelled «cum uno valetto.»³² Two chansons by Pierre, the three-voice *Amis tout dous* and the three- and sometimes four-voice *De ce que fol pense*, are preserved in various fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century manuscripts. ³³ The wide dissemination of both chansons attests to their international popularity. The latter of the two pieces may well have been written during Pierre's stay in England, since in the refrain of this ballade the author laments that he must «languir en estrange contrée.»³⁴

30 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 273: [A] Jehan Perrot, qui apporta au Roy I instrument appellé l'eschequier, qu'il avait fait, le roy d'Angleterre avoit donné au Roy, et li envoioit par ledit Jehan, pour don à li fait, à la relacion messire J. le Royer, 20 nobles, valent 6 livres, 13 sous, 4 deniers. For information on Jean Perrot, see Rastall, «Minstrels,» p. 17.

31 ACO, B 1462, fol. 127 [VIxxVIII]; doc. 55. It is possible that this instrument went back to France with King John II in 1360. Guillaume de Machaut, who was associated with the Valois court in these years, names a variety of instruments in his *La Prise d'Alexandrie* (after 1369) including «l'eschaquier d'Engleterre» (Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 10).

32 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, pp. 210, n. 1, and 211.

33 *Amis tout dous* has survived in the following four sources: Grottaferrata, fol. 1; Ivrea, fols. 2v-3; Paris 568, fols. 3v-4; and Prague XI.E.9, fol. 251. *De ce que fol pense* can be found in these eight manuscripts: Cambrai 1328, fols. 5v and 10; Chantilly 564, fol. 53v; Faenza, fols. 61-61v; Florence 26, fols. 86v-87; London 41667, fol. 1; Munich 15611, fols. 229v-230; Paris 568, fol. 124; and Paris 6771, fol. 71v. Both pieces were originally part of the now destroyed Strassburg MS 222 C.22 and the lost Trémoille MS. The beginning of the music and text of *De ce que fol pense* were woven into a contemporary tapestry now preserved in the Musée des Arts décoratifs in Paris (reproduced in Droz and Thibault, *Poètes et musiciens*, facing p. 21; and Besseler, *Mittelalters*, facing p. 136). An unnamed piece by Pierre de Molins is mentioned in Simone Prudenzi's *Saporetto* (see Plamenac, «Keyboard Music,» p. 187).

34 In this connection, Guillaume de Machaut's relationship with the Valois court may be mentioned. After his first lord, John, king of Bohemia and duke of Luxembourg, had been killed at the battle of Crécy in 1346, Machaut was employed by John of Bohemia's daughter, Bonne of Luxembourg, first wife of John the Good and mother of Philip the Bold. It was during the period between the death of John of Bohemia (1346) and that of Bonne of Luxembourg (1349) that Machaut had his closest contact with the Valois court. After the death of his patroness, the ties between Machaut and the royal court appear to have become less secure. For biographical information on Machaut, see Hoepffner, *OEuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, I, xi-xliiii.

There remain a few isolated references to music under John the Good prior to his confinement in England that deserve mention. While John was still duke of Normandy (he did not succeed to the French throne until August 1350), he supported a surprisingly large number of minstrels. The names of these performers are perhaps of less interest than the instruments they played:

Thevenin le Moyne, des naquaires.
 Jehan Tonet de Rains, du demy canon
 Gassot de Soissons, du cornet
 Jehan Hautemer, de la guiterre latine
 Pierre de Chamelet, de la fluste de Behaigne
 Franchequin de Seve [or Sene], trompette
 Petrecourt, de la vielle
 Richard Labbé, de la guiterne moresche
 Simon Col, trompette
 Maciot Lescot
 Thevenin Tribier, trompeur
 Jacquemart d'Auxerre, trompeur
 Coppin de Brequin³⁵

Two days after his marriage to Jeanne de Bourgogne in 1350 (his first wife, Bonne of Luxembourg, had died the previous year), John made a liberal payment of sixty *livres* to Robert de Caveron, king of the minstrels, to be distributed among the musicians who had performed at the wedding festivities.³⁶ The same year, after his coronation at Rheims, the new king was welcomed to Paris by a joyful populace and the sounds of «moult de divers instruments.»³⁷

These sundry references and the more copious information from the period of his captivity in England demonstrate that John the Good was a generous patron of music. Certainly, John did not support a rich musical life merely for pompous display; music gave him great personal satisfaction. Time and again, the accounts tell us that musical instruments were procured «du commandement du Roy» and performed «devant le Roy.» His royal chapel seems to have been familiar with the most up-to-date motets and chansons, and his minstrels were distinguished by their large number and the extraordinary variety of instruments they played. John the Good, father to Philip the Bold, made the Valois court an important musical center during an age in which large-scale artistic patronage at secular courts was only beginning to become commonplace.

35 Prost, «Liste des artistes,» p. 432.

36 Bernhard, «Recherches,» p. 395, n. 1.

37 *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, I, 28.

* * * * *

If the musical *ambiance* of the court of Louis of Male, count of Flanders and father-in-law to Philip the Bold, seems less brilliant than that under the aegis of King John of France, it was probably just that; Louis of Male, of course, was a count and not a king. Nevertheless, throughout the thirty-five years of his rule, the count of Flanders employed at least two and sometimes as many as six minstrels and, by the end of his reign, supported a chapel of nine men, large by the standards of the time. In addition to the resident musicians, there were minstrels attached to other potentates who frequented Louis' court. In March 1381, the count gave forty francs to the minstrels of Richard II, king of England,³⁸ and a few days later, eight florins to the musicians of the chamberlain of the king of Scotland.³⁹ The minstrels of John IV, duke of Brittany, seem to have been the count's most frequent guests, having performed before him in 1379-1380, 1381, and 1382.⁴⁰

Much of what we know of the activities of the minstrels of the count of Flanders comes, not surprisingly, from their association with the Burgundian court of Philip the Bold. The marriage of Philip to Margaret of Flanders in June 1369 caused a constant exchange of personnel between the courts of Flanders and Burgundy. At the wedding festivities held in Ghent, Philip gratified the minstrels of the count «because on several occasions they had played and entertained.»⁴¹ Additional payments in 1372, 1374, 1375, 1376, and 1378 attest to Philip's continued patronage.⁴² The allocation made in 1376 was to «quatre menestriers du conte de Flandres» who had come from Flanders in the company of Philip's wife in that year and had played before the duke several times in Paris.⁴³

The names of the minstrels of the count of Flanders and the instruments they played can be determined by fragmentary and sometimes circumstantial evidence. We know that early in his reign Louis retained Hanneken Pipen and Loenkin Pipen, both of whom, as the name «Pipen» indicates were wind instrumentalists.⁴⁴ Two musicians listed in the accounts simply as «Thiery et Arnoul, menestriers»⁴⁵ appear for the first time in 1375 along with two tambourinists,

38 AN, B 4071, fol. LIIv; doc. 32.

39 AN, B 3240, No. 111932.

40 AN, B 4069, fol. 51v; AN, B 3237, No. 111771; and AN, B 3240, No. 111932.

41 ACO, B 1430, fol. 165; doc. 4.

42 ACO, B 1438, fol. XLVIv; ACO, B 1441, fol. LVIII; ACO, 33 F 10, liasse, no folio; ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIIxxXVIv; ACO, B 1452, fol. 64-64v; and ACO, B 1454, fols. 65v and 80v.

43 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIIxxXVIv; doc. 21.

44 Castele, «Ménestrels de Bruges,» p. 69.

45 ACO, 33 F 10, liasse, no folio; doc. 13.

Augelin⁴⁶ and Claus.⁴⁷ These may have been the four musicians who played before Philip in Paris in the spring of 1376. Claus was later to become a member of the court of Philip the Bold and serve the duke for twenty-four years. By the early 1380's, three new minstrels are listed as the count's instrumentalists: Guillaume de Hucorgne, Jacot Smul, and Jossequin du Jardin. Like Claus, these three musicians would later be employed by Philip the Bold. Jacot Smul, variously named Jacot le Corneur, Jacot l'Alemant, and Semul de Couloigne, appears to have been a wind instrumentalist from Cologne. Jossequin du Jardin also was a wind instrumentalist as his moniker «le Pipre» indicates. His instrument was undoubtedly the bagpipe since a seal of this musician affixed to a quittance now in the departmental archives in Lille displays a three-sided arch with a bagpipe in the center.⁴⁸

A singer, a harper, a trumpeter, and an organist likewise formed part of the count's retinue. The anonymous author of *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, when naming the famous poet-composers of the late fourteenth century, lists among such persons as Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Vaillant, and Jean Tapissier, one Hennequin d'Oudenarde «faiseur du comte de Flandres.»⁴⁹ That Louis had a «faiseur» at his court is not surprising: while little is known of them today, these musical bards, variously called «faiseur des diz,» «faiseur des ballades,» and «faiseur des rondeaux,» were an integral part of the late-mediaeval court scene. They composed their own text and music, and then performed their works before the lord of the court and the princes of any of the other courts they happened to visit. This same Hennequin d'Oudenarde, now called a «menestrel de bouche,» sang before Philip the Bold in 1378⁵⁰ and the following year travelled to northern Italy where he entertained the prince of Achaia.⁵¹

The harper in Louis' employ was named Jacques Karsebrouc. In 1369, Louis had given Jacques an annual pension of forty *livres* to be taken from the receipts of the county of Rethel.⁵² In the fall of 1378, the duchess of Burgundy, Margaret of Flanders, attended the baptism of a son of this harper and presented the father with a silver goblet worth nineteen and a half francs.⁵³ The trumpeter of the count of Flanders was called Jean Roussel and a mandement issued 27th December 1381 shows that five *livres*, fifteen sous, had been allotted him to pay for a silver trumpet that he had had made in Sluis.⁵⁴ After the death

of Louis of Male, Jean Roussel served Anthony, duke of Brabant and second son of Philip the Bold, and in 1404 he received an annual ration of food in consideration of his «grant age» and necessity.⁵⁵ The organist of Louis of Male, Jean Visée, is connected to his court in a single retrospective document of 1389 in which Jean is listed as «jadiz organeur de monseigneur le conte de Flandres.»⁵⁶ Jean Visée and his brother Guillebert, likewise an organist, were to have extensive dealings with the courts of Burgundy and Berry, as well as the royal courts of France and Aragón, as we shall see in the discussion of the organists of the court of Philip the Bold.

While references and payments to resident and visiting minstrels can be found throughout the long reign of Louis of Male, the chapel of the count appears to have been formed only towards the end of his life. An account of 1379-1380 mentions for the first time the «chapellains et clers de le chapielle monseigneur.» This modest group had a complement of five:⁵⁷

Pierre de Gremigni	[chaplain]
Jean Abidon	[chaplain]
Henri Potage	[clerk]
Jean Grossteste	[clerk]
Denisot Grantchier ⁵⁸	[clerk]

By April 1383, the number had almost doubled:⁵⁹

Pierre Gremigny	[chaplain]
Jean Abidon	[chaplain]
Nicole Barin	[chaplain]
Jean d'Ambrun	[chaplain]
Henri Potage	[clerk]
Jean Grossteste	[clerk]
Jean Martin	[clerk]
Jean Hamencourt	[clerk]
Henekin [de Zurendriesch]	[clerk]

In addition to these men, another chaplain, Toussains Prier, had served Louis since at least 1363.⁶⁰ Although never officially listed as a member of the count's chapel, this priest was certainly capable of singing with the other chaplains since, in later Burgundian records, Toussains Prier is listed as a «teneur.»⁶¹

- 55 Circourt and van Werveke, *Documents luxembourgeois à Paris*, p. 103.
 56 ACO, B 1474, fol. 39v [XXXVIIIv]; doc. 72.
 57 AN, B 4069, fol. 39.
 58 Denisot died in October 1381 (AN, B 3239, No. 111853).
 59 AN, B 4072, fols. 46 and 46v; docs. 34 and 35.
 60 AN, B 1573, fol. 5v [IIIIv].
 61 ACO, B 1463, fol. 105v; doc. 54.

- 46 ACO, B 1436bis, fol. 214.
 47 ACO, 33 F 10, liasse, no folio; doc. 13.
 48 A reproduction of this seal is printed in Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, II, plate 2, figure 6.
 49 *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, pp. 13-14.
 50 ACO, B 1454, fol. 78; doc. 27.
 51 Pirro, *Musique à Paris*, p. 9.
 52 *Inventaire sommaire... du Nord*, II, 47.
 53 ACO, B 1454, fol. 65v; doc. 30.
 54 AN, B 3239, No. 111882; doc. 33.

The members of Louis of Male's chapel benefited from the count's policy of liberal remuneration for court personnel. Beyond their wages and travelling expenses, each of the chaplains received a yearly pension of twenty-four *livres* (excepting Henri de Zurendriesch who received only sixteen *livres* per annum).⁶² Moreover, Louis had a number of lucrative prebends at his disposal which could be bestowed on deserving singers. Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact value of these ecclesiastical endowments, they substantially supplemented the income of the chaplains and clerks to whom they had been given.⁶³ Many of the benefices were located in the wealthy commercial centers of the Low Countries. We see, for instance, Toussains Prier listed as a chaplain at the parochial church of Wingard in Bruges in 1368,⁶⁴ Jean Grosseteste as a canon at the church of St. Pharaïlde in Ghent in 1382,⁶⁵ and Jean de Hamencourt as canon at the cathedral of Termonde in 1383.⁶⁶

Given the records, there would appear to be no answer to the more important question of the liturgy and musical repertoire of the chapel of the count of Flanders. The few extant account books of the court make no mention of musical performance. None of Louis' chaplains or clerks would seem to have been a composer; or, in any case, no music by them has survived. We do know that Louis of Male had an important collection of sacred and secular books, many of which found their way into the library of Philip the Bold after Louis' death in 1384, and one of which is of particular significance. In the spring of 1375, the poet Eustache Deschamps was charged by his mentor Guillaume de Machaut to deliver a copy of the master's *Voir Dit* to the count of Flanders in Bruges.⁶⁷ Since the extant manuscripts of Machaut's *Voir Dit* invariably contain interpolated musical compositions,⁶⁸ we are safe in assuming that polyphonic vocal music was, at least, not unknown at the court of Louis of Male.

Philip the Bold acquired his taste for musical ceremony from both King John the Good and Count Louis of Male. But of the two, the musical legacy of the count of Flanders, despite its more modest scope, may have been the more influential. For from the court of Louis of Male, Philip inherited not merely a tradition of large numbers of performers and variety of instrumental sounds. He fell heir to something more tangible: the musicians themselves. As we shall see in the ensuing chapters, almost all the musicians of the count of Flanders were later retained by Philip the Bold; the minstrels supplemented those already in the duke's employ, and the chaplains and clerks became the nucleus of a chapel that Philip would shortly make the largest in western Europe.

62 AN, B 4072, fols. 46 and 46v; docs. 34 and 35.

63 A more detailed discussion of the distribution and value of prebends will be found below in Chapter IV.

64 AN, B 1567, fol. 4.

65 AN, B 1567, fol. 138.

66 AN, B 1567, fol. 139v.

67 Hoepffner, *Eustache Deschamps*, p. 39.

68 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 1584, 9221, and 22546; see Paris, *Le Livre de Voir-Dit*, p. xxxiv.

The musical needs of the court of Burgundy were fulfilled by two distinctly separate groups of musicians: the singers of the chapel and the minstrels. A small number of other musicians, often listed among the duke's chamber valets, were employed as harpers, organists, and singers to assist the chaplains and minstrels in the performance of their respective duties. Of these two musical forces, the ducal chapel is probably the more important for the history of music, since it is among the ranks of the chaplains that many of the composers of the period are to be found. But the chapel of the court of Burgundy, like that at the court of Flanders, was a relatively late innovation. Not until 1384—exactly midway in his forty-year reign—did Philip the Bold hire musicians to sing the divine service. For the first twenty years of his rule, the only performers at Burgundy were the resident and visiting minstrels, and Philip the Bold was dependent solely on them to satisfy the musical desires of the court.

When Philip the Bold journeyed to Dijon in November of 1364 formally to receive the duchy of Burgundy, there were at least four minstrels and one trumpeter already in his employ.¹ Three of these musicians, Jean Pincepaste, Guiot de Chaumont, and Jaquemin Commin, had served Philip's predecessor, Philip of Rouvres, last Capetian duke of Burgundy,² while the fourth minstrel, Henri Baudet, had been hired as the duke's tambourinist (tabour-player).³ The trumpeter in Philip's retinue, Jean de Varanguien, had been a member of the ducal household since at least September 1364.⁴ Two of these musicians and possibly all five were native Burgundians. The court records show that Jean Pincepaste maintained a residence in Châteauvillain,⁵ while Guiot de Chaumont, who apparently came from the town of that name, remained active in Dijon until at least 1376.⁶ When required, Philip the Bold would employ other local musicians on a temporary basis. In December 1364, the duke paid a portion of seventeen francs, three groats, for the services of Guillaume de Viezmolins,⁷ a performer whose talents Duchess Margaret utilized again in 1376

1 In the Burgundian accounts, the ducal trumpeter is always listed separately from the minstrels of the court. A discussion of the distinction between the trumpeter and minstrels in regard to their respective duties and rewards is given below.

2 ACO, B 1408, fol. 57v.

3 ACO, B 1416, fol. 64; and Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 12v. Henri Baudet is sometimes listed as «narcarin» of the duke (ACO, B 1441, fol. LVIIv) and in 1368 was given six francs to buy «naquaires» (ACO, B 1430, fol. 113v).

4 Bibl. nat., CB 25, fol. 50v. Jean de Varanguien accompanied the duke of Burgundy on an expedition into the Loire region in this month.

5 ACO, B 1451, fol. 45. Châteauvillain lies forty miles north of Dijon.

6 ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIxxXIII. Chaumont is situated fifty miles north of Dijon.

7 ACO, B 1417, fol. 49.

and whose name can be found on several of the minstrel contracts inscribed in the Dijon municipal records as late as 1396.⁸

The favored status enjoyed by the native Burgundian minstrels at the court was short-lived, however, as performers from other regions and other countries were brought on the scene in increasing numbers. Nicolas Alfons, a musician from Harfleur, was taken into the duke of Burgundy's service in 1365.⁹ Jaquinot de Vaingnorry, probably from Paris, was added to Philip's household by 12th May 1367.¹⁰ A foreign musician, Federic l'Alement, was named on the ducal rolls for the first time in 1368.¹¹ As the name «l'Alement» indicates, this Federic was certainly of German origin. A minstrel from the town of Bulles, near Beauvais, joined the other performers at court when Louis Mulier entered Philip the Bold's service in 1372.¹² The earliest mentions of Louis at court show that he had been placed under the tutorship of the more experienced Jaquinot de Vaingnorry. Both men were part of the army that Philip the Bold led into Aquitaine against the English in the fall of 1372, and both were supplied with horses and valets for the voyage.¹³ Louis Mulier must have quickly proved himself responsible, for in 1374 he was given ten francs «to pay the expenses of himself and his horse while going to Germany to fetch some minstrels for my lord.»¹⁴ To the French mind, any area that comprised part of the Holy Roman Empire at this time, including the Low Countries, was viewed to be in Germany in the broadest sense. That Philip the Bold thought it necessary to attract additional German musicians to his court shows the high regard the French had for these foreign performers.¹⁵ The «German» whom Louis appears to have led back to Burgundy was Jean de Dinant, from the town of that name lying southwest of Liège.¹⁶ Four years later, a third German musician was added to Philip's household when Claus Tabourin, a tambourinist sometimes called «l'Alement,» was transferred from the court of Flanders to that of Burgundy.¹⁷

By the middle of the 1370's, the performing personnel of the Burgundian

8 Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 524, n. 1; and Dijon, Archives municipales, M 48, fol. 85v [XXXIIv].

9 Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 64v.

10 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 150v.

11 ACO, B 1430, fol. 42.

12 ACO, B 1438, fol. XLIIv.

13 ACO, B 1441, fol. XLIIIv; and ACO, B 1436bis, fol. XXVIII.

14 ACO, B 1444, fol. IIIxxIIv; doc. 7.

15 See Pirro, «Musiciens allemands et auditeurs français.» In 1391, King John I of Aragón likewise sent two of his minstrels to Germany to find players of the shawm, the bombarde, and the bagpipe (Pedrell, «Jean I d'Aragon,» p. 239).

16 Jean de Dinant is first listed in the Burgundian accounts in December 1374 (ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXv) and was still alive as late as 1409 (Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 42). It is possible that Guillaume Dufay's chanson *Je veuil chanter de cuer joyeux*, which produces the acrostic «Jehan de Dinant,» was addressed to this minstrel.

17 Claus entered the Burgundian service on 26th February 1378 (ACO, B 1452, fol. 24).

court had changed substantially. The three minstrels originally belonging to Philip of Rouvres had either been relieved of their posts or, as in the case of Jaquemin Commin, given another position at court.¹⁸ Henri Baudet, the tambourinist, and Jean de Varanguien, the trumpeter, were both dead by 1376.¹⁹ Henri's place was taken by Claus Tabourin and Jean's by Nicolas de la Marche.²⁰ A second trumpeter, Berthelemi Lyon from Sicily, was added to the staff in 1372.²¹ By 1378, the musical complement consisted of three woodwind instrumentalists—Nicolas Alfons, Louis Mulier, and Jean de Dinant,—a tambourinist who also played a small flute or pipe—Claus Tabourin,—and two trumpeters—Nicolas de la Marche and Berthelemi Lyon.²²

For those minstrels fortunate enough to be selected to serve, employment at the Burgundian court offered many advantages. In addition to a daily wage, each musician received his food, clothing, two horses, and a personal valet.

18 Jaquemin Commin was appointed chamber valet to the duke by 1375 (ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxVII). This was also true of Federic l'Alement who is named chamber valet as early as 1371 (ACO, B 319, fol. 113).

19 Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 112, n. 5; and ACO, B 1452, fol. 27.

20 Nicolas de la Marche, sometimes called Nicolas Condon, first appears at court in the fall of 1375 (ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxII).

21 ACO, B 1438, fol. Lv. Berthelemi Lyon appears for the last time in the Burgundian registers in 1378 (ACO, B 1452, fol. 45v).

22 There are several errors in Edmund A. Bowles's «Instruments at the Court of Burgundy (1363-1467),» which require correction. For the sake of clarity, they will simply be enumerated: (1) [p. 43] Philip the Bold did not have «no less than twenty-eight musicians in his service» by 1367 as Mr. Bowles states. The figure twenty-eight is meant to include falconers, chamber valets, and other officers of the duke (ACO, B 1430, fol. 35). A more reasonable estimate of the number of minstrels in Philip's retinue at this time would be five or six. (2) [p. 43] Henri Baudet was not engaged in 1368 but had been in the duke's service since at least 1364 (see above p. 23). (3) [p. 43] Philip did not retain a harper and a trumpeter for the first time in 1384 but had had an English harper, Gautier l'Anglais, in his employ between 1375 and 1378 (see below p. 31), and three trumpeters, Jean de Varanguien, Berthelemi Lyon, and Nicolas de la Marche, in his service for various lengths of time beginning in 1364, 1372, and 1375, respectively (see above pp. 23 and 25). (4) [p. 44] The citation given by Mr. Bowles as an example of Philip the Bold's generosity refers, in fact, to a fine levied by the duke. Berthot de Créencey was not paid one and a half florins for having played his bagpipe («cornemuse») but penalized this amount for having struck Symon Guiteaul with it because Symon had played on his trumpet and annoyed him. Mr. Bowles's fanciful mistranslation was made from an entry printed by Prost (*Inventaires*, I, 81-82) which was taken from an account of the bailiwick of Auxois (ACO, B 2752, fol. 8v). Berthot de Créencey was merely a native Burgundian minstrel and was never in the service of Philip the Bold. The year of his fine was 1366 and not 1365, as given by Mr. Bowles. (5) [p. 45] Finally, John the Fearless did not employ «twelve vielle-players, six harpists, and six trumpeters» in 1419 (information mistakenly given in Straeten, *Ménestrels aux Pays-Bas*, p. 46). A more correct figure would be four woodwind players, three trumpeters, and one harper (see below pp. 46-47).

Were a minstrel to become ill while a member of Philip's household, a special payment was made to cover his expenses during his illness. When, for example, Jean de Dinant fell sick in Paris in the fall of 1378, he received ten francs «to help him to pay several surgeons and to pay his other expenses in his illness.»²³ Joyful occasions likewise evoked a princely gift. When a child was born to Jaquemin Commin and his wife in 1375, the duke presented the couple with a cask of wine valued at six francs.²⁴ Between 1365 and 1376, Jean de Varanguien, Nicolas Alfons, Berthelemi Lyon, and Louis Mulier all received gifts ranging from ten to forty francs at the time of their respective marriages. Even when a minstrel became involved in a criminal act, the affair would be palliated by a timely allocation from the ducal treasury, as was the case in 1374 when thirty francs were paid to a woman who had been carnally assaulted by the duke's tambourinist, Henri Baudet.²⁵ Jean de Dinant seems to have been a personal favorite of Philip the Bold. An account book of 1378 shows that Philip had given this minstrel a silver belt worth twenty-nine francs.²⁶ That the duke's association with Jean de Dinant transcended the strictly professional is evidenced by an entry of 1379 which states that Philip paid ten francs to Jean because the minstrel had beaten him in a game of tennis.²⁷

Philip's policy of liberal remuneration for his minstrels quickly made the court of Burgundy an important musical center. Whether the court was in transit or in residence in Burgundy, Flanders, or Paris, performers of all sorts flocked to it in search of opportunity and reward. The most frequent visitors were the instrumentalists. The accounts are full of payments to minstrels, presumably wind instrumentalists, who had «corné avant monseigneur.» All six of the musicians of Amadeus VI, count of Savoy, who travelled to Dijon to perform in 1377, for example, were wind players—two trumpeters, two shawm-players, and two bagpipers.²⁸ String players were equally in evidence. In 1368, a Gillet de Toul received two francs because he had several times «joué de la quicterne devant monseigneur,»²⁹ and in 1371 a Perrin de Mascon «joueur de quicturner» and his wife were given four *livres* for the services they had rendered at Argilly, near Dijon.³⁰ A psaltery-player, Jean de Quincy, performed before the duke in 1368 and 1371.³¹ This musician appears to have been added to Philip's household temporarily in 1374 when he is listed as «menestrier de monseigneur» and provided with a horse.³² A player of the echiquier, an instrument with which Philip had become familiar during his captivity in England, enter-

tained the duke as he passed through Flanders in January of 1376.³³ Two months later, two *vielle*-players in the employ of King Charles V displayed their talents before the duke when the court resided in Bruges.³⁴ Since the instrument Philip the Bold seems to have enjoyed most was the harp, a number of itinerant harpers are found among the Burgundian entourage. In the accounts, they are usually called «harpeurs» to distinguish them from the «menestrels» at court. The Colinet le Harpeur and Thomas Guiste who were each paid six francs for their services in 1378 were just two of the many harpers who attracted Philip's attention during these years.³⁵

Blending with the sounds of these instrumentalists were the voices of singers. The «chanteurs» or «menestrels de bouche»³⁶ would perform as soloists, in small vocal ensembles, or in combination with dancers or instrumentalists. While visiting near Dijon in October of 1367, Philip the Bold was entertained by Jean de Chaines «menestrier de bouche,» and by Thomas de Hedin-court and his companions, «menestriers de bouche et de quicterne.»³⁷ During a sojourn at the Burgundian manor house of Rouvres in 1378, Philip recompensed a blind man and two of his company who had sung and played before him.³⁸ Later in the same year at Cambrai, four francs were given to

33 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXIII; doc. 17.

34 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXVv. One of these minstrels of the *vielle* was probably the Jean Symon who is named as a *vielle*-player of the king between 1366 and 1380 (see Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 221, n. 5). Jean Symon played before the duke of Burgundy in 1370 and again in 1375 (ACO, B 3572, fol. 30; and ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXIXv). Pirro (*Musique à Paris*, pp. 2-3) suggests that this Jean Symon may have been the composer of that name in the Chantilly 564 MS. A more likely candidate, however, would seem to be the Jean Symon alias Hasprois listed as a singer in the chapel of Popes Clement VII and Benedict XIII (see Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 186-199). This latter Jean Symon can be shown to have been a canon of the cathedral of Arras in 1402 (AN, 4 G 1086, No. 97; confer Günther, «Biographie,» p. 194).

35 ACO, B 1452, fols. 65v and 74.

36 A «menestrier de bouche» is not a wind instrumentalist, as Rokseth (*Musique d'orgue*, p. 24) has stated, but a singer. There are many mentions in the Burgundian accounts of «menestrier de bouche» who had «dist» or «chanté» but no references to «menestriers de bouche» who had «joué» or «corné». The question would seem to be unequivocally resolved by the following ordinance issued in Paris on 14th September 1395: «We prohibit all 'dicteurs, faiseurs de ditz et de chançons,' and all other 'menestriers de bouche et recordeurs de ditz' from making, saying, or singing in place or elsewhere any 'ditz,' rhymes, or chansons which make mention of the pope, of the king our lord, [or] of our said lords of France in regard to that which touches the union of the church, or the voyages that they have made or will make for this cause, under pain of discretionary fine and incarceration with bread and water» (Vidal, *Chapelle St.-Julien-des-Ménéstriers*, p. 47: Nous deffendons à tous dicteurs, faiseurs de ditz et de chançons, et à tous autres Ménéstriers de bouche et recordeurs de ditz, que ils ne facent, dyent, ne chantent en place ne ailleurs, aucuns ditz, rymes ne chançons qui facent mention du pape, du roy nostre sire, de nos diz seigneurs de France, au regard de ce qui touche le fait de l'union de l'église, ne les voyages que ils ont faits ou feront pour ce cause de ce, sous peine d'amende volontaire et d'estre mis en prison au pain et à l'eau).

37 ACO, B 1430, fol. 43; doc. 1; and fol. 43v.

38 ACO, B 1454, fol. 87v.

23 ACO, B 1454, fol. 80v; doc. 29.

24 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxVII.

25 ACO, B 1441, fol. LVIIv.

26 ACO, B 1454, fol. 68.

27 ACO, B 1454, fol. XXVI.

28 ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIxxXIII; doc. 24.

29 ACO, B 1430, fol. 114v; doc. 2.

30 ACO, B 1435, fol. LXVIv.

31 ACO, B 1430, fol. 115; and ACO, B 1435, fol. LXVIII; doc. 5.

32 ACO, B 1444, fol. LXv.

several «chanteurs et chanteresses» who had «chanté devant mondit seigneur au dit lieu de Cambrai.»³⁹ Hennequin d'Oudenarde, the «faiseur» of the count of Flanders, and Gillet le Boiteux⁴⁰ and Nicolas le Villart,⁴¹ «menestrez de bouche,» were heard by the duke at Châtillon-sur-Seine in that same year.⁴² That the songs which these minstrels rendered were often composed in the fixed poetic forms of the period—that is, the lai, rondeau, ballade, virelai, and so on—is suggested by two orders of payment, one issued in 1376 and the other in 1383: «To a 'faiseur' of rondeaux living in Bruges, III francs»⁴³ and «To I 'menesterel de bouche' who said before my lord in the Louvre several 'diz' and ballades, for a gift to him made by my said lord, VIII francs.»⁴⁴ Occasionally, the duke and his companions would chance to hear a motet; this was the case in 1382 when the young King Charles VI and the dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon visited Tournai; as they approached a ship docked at a *quai* «four Englishmen with oars made as if they were rowing the galley and sang a motet.»⁴⁵

A remarkable number of female vocalists sang before the court. In 1372, Jeanne la Page and three other «chantresses» were rewarded with four *livres* of Tours for having entertained the duke.⁴⁶ Two years later, one Berthelomette «la menestriere» was paid for her services at Rouvres.⁴⁷ When Philip was in Chalon en route to Avignon in 1376, it was commanded that three francs be given to «Aiglautine la menestrelle et à sa compaigne qui ont chanté devant monseigneur.»⁴⁸ The same woman, this time called «Aiglautine de Tournay, chanteresse,» performed before the duchess of Burgundy in April of the next year.⁴⁹ Moreover, there were several female singers in Paris eager to please the duke. In 1375, a payment was made to «deux chanteuresses de Paris.»⁵⁰ These two women were probably the «Robinette et Jehanette» who later in that same

39 ACO, B 1454, fol. 80v; doc. 28.

40 ACO, B 1454, fol. 78. Hennequin was the «faiseur» of Louis of Male mentioned in *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique* (see above p. 20). Gillet le Boiteux, a native of Dijon, signed a «contrat d'association» with another Burgundian minstrel, Symonin Pincepaste, in 1384 (ACO, B 11301, fol. 79). This Symonin Pincepaste may have been a relative of Jean Pincepaste who served Philip the Bold in the 1360's (see above p. 23).

41 In 1381, Nicolas le Villart sang at the court of Charles VI and is listed as a «menestrier de bouche» of Louis, duke of Anjou (Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel*, pp. 185-186).

42 ACO, B 1454, fol. 78; doc. 27; and fol. 86.

43 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXVv; doc. 18.

44 ACO, B 1461, fol. 75 [IIIxxIII]; doc. 36.

45 La Grange, «Entrées de souverains,» p. 34: et y avoit iiij Anglés qui avoient iiij rimes faisant signe qu'il nageaient le galée, et cantèrent ung motet.

46 ACO, B 1430, fol. 103v.

47 ACO, B 1441, fol. Lv.

48 ACO, B 1451, fols. LXXVII-LXXVIIv; doc. 20.

49 ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIxxVIII.

50 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXIII; doc. 16.

year «par plusieurs foiz avoient chanté devant monseigneur.»⁵¹ They may also have been among the «pluseurs chanteresses qui chantèrent devant monseigneur» at the palace of the king in 1378.⁵² Clearly, female vocalists were very much involved in the performance of secular music in late-medieval France.

Yet despite the ubiquity of such itinerant singers and instrumentalists, they made up only part of the Burgundian musical scene. Equally important were the minstrels attached to the courts of other French and foreign lords. Philip the Bold's unique political position, as ruler of the widely separate territories of Burgundy and Flanders, and, after 1380, as *de facto* regent of France, brought him into contact with most of the major and minor potentates of western Europe. Within his immediate family were the dukes of Berry and Anjou, and King Charles V—all brothers to Philip the Bold—as well as the future Charles VI, Philip's nephew. Naturally, the minstrels of these princes were frequent guests at the Burgundian court. The musicians of John, duke of Berry, entertained the duke of Burgundy in 1367, 1371, 1372, 1373, and 1374,⁵³ while those of Louis, duke of Anjou, performed in 1371, 1372, 1373, and 1375.⁵⁴ The royal minstrels of Charles V were often asked to join with those of Burgundy at state dinners, on special feast days, and on the political, military, and diplomatic missions which Philip undertook in the name of the crown. We see them in Philip's attendance at Ghent in June 1369 for his marriage to Margaret of Flanders, at Bruges in 1375 for a peace conference with the English, and again at Arras in 1377 during an inspection tour of Flanders.⁵⁵

51 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXIIIv.

52 ACO, B 1454, fol. 82v; doc. 31; see also ACO, B 1451, fol. LXXIIIv; doc. 22.

53 The names of most of the minstrels of the court of Berry during this period are known. Two, Jaquet and Robert, are mentioned in the Burgundian court records between 1368 and 1374 (ACO, B 1430, fol. 47; ACO, B 1438, fol. XLVIIIv; and ACO, B 1441, fol. LVv). Seven others, Guillemin de Cangi dit le Paillart, Riffart de Viezbourc, Le Bourgne, Guillemin Burluque, Hainsselin, Eugenin, and Baudet Estieu, are listed in the records of the court of Berry for the years 1371-1374 (Archives nationales, KK 251, fols. 50v, 68, 79, 121v, 123v, 134, 135, and 136; and KK 252, fols. 133 and 144; see also Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 243, n. 6).

54 For a list of minstrels in the service of Louis of Anjou at this time, see Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 240, n. 7.

55 Several minstrels were employed by Charles V in these years. Among them were Colin Preudhomme, Jean Jacob, Colin la Feve, and Jacquemart le Cuvelier (Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 36016, Nos. 2651 and 2667), three vielle-players, Jean Symon, Hanse, and Watrequin (see above p. 27; and Delisle, *Mandements*, Nos. 1522, 1561, and 1721), two gittern-players, Guillaume de Ghistercele and Jaquet (see Straeten, *Ménestrels aux Pays-Bas*, p. 120; and Delisle, *Mandements*, No. 1656), and two trumpeters, Guillaume Roussel and Guillot du Bois. The trumpeter Guillaume Roussel seems to have been an almost permanent Burgundian employee. In 1372, he was equipped with a coat of armor in order better to assist the duke in the army Philip led into Aquitaine against the English (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 112v). In February 1375, he was presented with a silver belt worth twenty francs and then a month later recompensed an additional twenty francs for the services he had rendered when he accompanied the duke on several expeditions (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 123; and ACO, B 1444, fol. IIIxxI). The following year, Guillaume

The steady influx of minstrels belonging to foreign lords offered ample opportunity for the introduction of alien musical tastes at Burgundy. Among those who entertained the duke during the early years of his reign were musicians of Amadeus VI, count of Savoy (1371, 1373, 1374, 1375, and 1376), Wenzel, duke of Brabant (1367, 1369, and 1376), Giangaleazzo Visconti, duke of Milan (1374), Albert, duke of Bavaria (1375 and 1376), Leopold, duke of Austria (1377), Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor (1375 and 1377), John, emperor of Constantinople (1371), Henry II, king of Spain (1375 and 1378), Robert II, king of Scotland (1375), and Edward III, king of England (1375 and 1376). Of special import to the Burgundian court were the visits made by the minstrels of three other foreign princes: John, duke of Gironne, Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

In 1368 and 1371, the minstrels of King Peter IV of Aragón were received at the Burgundian court,⁵⁶ and in 1373 those of his son John, duke of Gironne, were welcomed.⁵⁷ The duke of Gironne, who according to a chronicler «moult amoit les menestrels,»⁵⁸ was himself a composer of vocal polyphony.⁵⁹ After John had ascended the Aragonese throne in 1387, there commenced an extensive correspondence between the courts of Burgundy and Aragón, followed by an exchange of musicians.⁶⁰ The illustrious Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, who dedicated his famous *Livre de la chasse* to Philip and whose minstrels performed at Burgundy in the summer of 1375,⁶¹ was likewise a devoted student and patron of music. Jean Froissart assures us that «often he took great enjoyment in the music of the minstrels, because he knew it well. He gladly had before him his clerks [of the chapel] sing and discant chansons, rondeaux, and virelais.»⁶²

Burgundian musicians had their first extensive contacts with English minstrels, especially those in the service of John of Gaunt, during the years 1375 and 1376. In January 1375, a peace conference was called at Bruges in hopes of ending the wars between France and England. The French delegation to this parley was led by Philip the Bold, the English by John of Gaunt.⁶³ In keeping with the Burgundian tradition of pomp and splendor, Philip's entire retinue,

Roussel is named among the personnel of the Burgundian court and paid daily wages through 1st December 1376 (ACO, B 1436bis, fol. 11v). In 1381, he is called «sergent d'armes» of the king of France (Douët-d'Arceq, *Comptes de l'hôtel*, p. 124). For information on the other royal trumpeter, Guillot du Bois, see below p. 42, n. 123.

56 ACO, B 1430, fol. 118; and ACO, B 1435, fol. LXV.

57 ACO, B 1441, fol. L.

58 *Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, p. 108.

59 Pedrell, «Jean I d'Aragon, compositeur de musique.»

60 See below pp. 48, 73, 116-119, and 123-124.

61 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxII.

62 Froissart, *Chroniques*, XI, 88: souvent il prenoit grand esbatement en ménestrandie, car moult bien s'y congoissoit. Il faisoit devant luy volentiers ses clers chanter et dischanter chansons, rondeaulx et virelais.

63 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 10-11.

including his musicians, was dressed in a livery especially created for the occasion. The demands for music caused by the endless succession of banquets and tournaments necessitated a constant interchange of singers and instrumentalists. According to Froissart, the entertainments offered by the duke of Burgundy were «bien festées et dansées.»⁶⁴ The following are a few of the payments to musicians made during the negotiations at Bruges on behalf of Duke Philip:

To the minstrels who sang before my Lord at Bruges, as a gift to them, VI francs... To III minstrels who played the gittern and the harp before my lord, for the same, VIII and a half francs. To master Jehan Quoquart, minstrel of my lord Robert of Namur, for the same, X francs.... To the minstrels of the king of England the same in Sluis in Flanders, LXI francs II s. VI d. of Tours. To the minstrels of duke Albert, for the same, XL francs I groat of France.... To the minstrels of King Henry of Spain, for the same, XX francs.... And to the minstrels of the count of Blois and several other minstrels who had played before my lord, as a gift, XL francs. For all by mandement of my lord without quittance given at Bruges 13th April 1375 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXVIIIv; doc. 10)

To the minstrels of the king of Scotland, as gift made to them this day [23rd June 1375]... XX francs.
(ACO, 33 F 10, liasse, no folio; doc. 13)

To master Jehan, nancarin of the duke of Lancaster, as a gift to him, IIII francs... [28th May 1375].⁶⁵
(ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXIX; doc. 12)

To Gauthier, harper of my lord, as a gift made to him by special grace to buy clothes and shoes... X francs [3rd May 1375].
(ACO, B 1444, fol. IIIxx; doc. 11)

As this last reference shows, Philip the Bold added an English harper to his household while he was in Bruges. This musician, called Gautier l'Anglais, had probably travelled to the continent in the retinue of John of Gaunt. Gautier was to serve the duke of Burgundy for three years before leaving the court and falling victim to political intrigue.⁶⁶

Despite the great ceremony and expense of the peace negotiations at Bruges, the only agreement that could be reached was that the participants should assemble anew the following year (1376).⁶⁷ Again the dukes of Burgundy and Lancaster led their respective suites to Bruges, and again musicians of all sorts found their talents in demand. As always, there were sizeable expenditures from the Burgundian treasury for musical entertainment:

64 Froissart, *Chroniques*, VIII, 373.

65 This is possibly the same Jean Nakerer who accompanied the son of the duke of Lancaster, Henry of Derby (the future Henry IV), to Prussia in 1390 (see Salmen, «Beteiligung Englands,» p. 320).

66 See below pp. 123-124.

67 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 10-11.

To the minstrels of Duke Albert, as a gift made to them by my lord, XX francs. To the trumpeter of my lord, to purchase and pay for a trumpet, X francs.... To the minstrels of the king of England, for the same, L francs.... To the minstrels of the king of Scotland and others who had played before my lord, XXIII francs. To several other common minstrels, X francs.... To two children, 'menestrier de bouche,' I franc.... To a 'faiseur' of rondeaux living in Bruges, III francs; and to Voultier, harper of my lord, as a gift made to him to dress himself, III francs.... Given at Bruges 29th March 1376 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXVv; doc. 18)

At the conclusion of the conferences of 1375 and 1376, the minstrels of Burgundy did not return with their lord to France. Instead, they received permission to join the entourage of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to visit England. On 4th July 1375, they departed from Ghent with the blessings of the duke and a gift of twenty francs.⁶⁸ The following year the allotment was raised to the considerable sum of one hundred and twenty francs:

To Nycolas de Hallefour, Jehan de Dinant, and Louys Mulier, minstrels of my lord, as a gift made to them this time by special grace to make a certain voyage in England where my lord has sent them with the duke of Lancaster. By mandement of my lord and quittance given 21st April.... 1376.... VIxx francs.
(ACO, B 1445, fol. CI; doc. 19)

These trips to England were just two of many voyages that the minstrels of Burgundy made outside the court. In 1378, for example, Jean de Dinant, Nicolas Alfons, Louis Mulier, and Claus Tabourin spent eleven days in parts of Savoy and the county of Burgundy,⁶⁹ and later in the same year Jean and Nicolas visited Lorraine.⁷⁰ The journeys proved to be financial windfalls for the minstrels because they continued to receive their daily wages from the duke and at the same time were rewarded by the princes whose courts they visited. John, duke of Berry, for example, is recorded to have paid the minstrels of Burgundy a total of one hundred and ten francs between February and June, 1371.⁷¹ Just as Philip the Bold welcomed the minstrels of many lords at his court, so the musicians of Burgundy were periodically given leave to try their fortunes at other musical centers.

Almost every year a voyage of special importance was undertaken by the minstrels of Burgundy to the schools of their métier. The schools of the minstrels were organized during Lent when the musical activities of the courts were curtailed. Musicians from various regions would gather at a predetermined site to exchange the newest songs and dances, and to buy and sell instruments. Most often the schools were held in the Low Countries, in cities such as Brussels,

68 ACO, 33 F 10, liasse, no folio; doc. 13.

69 ACO, B 1461, fol. 40 [XLIX]; doc. 26.

70 ACO, B 1454, fol. 83.

71 Archives nationales, KK 251, fols. 31v [XXXIV], 33v [XXXIIIv], and 69.

Mons, and Cambrai, which at that time were part of the Holy Roman Empire and considered to be «en Allemagne.» The Burgundian minstrels would journey to these musical congresses in a group, travelling with horses and valets, and each would receive between twenty and fifty francs from the duke to defray his expenses. Among the many payments of this sort are:

1369. To Fedelic, Jaquinot de Vaingnorry, Commin, and Claux [Nicolas Alfons], minstrels of my lord, as a gift made to them by my lord by special grace to go to the schools in this present Lent. By mandement of my lord... given in the Bois de Vincennes 15th February 1369 [n.s.], and quittance given the 20th of said month of February.... IIIxx francs.
(ACO, B 1430, fol. 118v; doc. 3)

1377. To Jehannin de Dignant, Harefort [Nicolas Alfons], and Loyset, minstrels of my lord, as a gift made to them this time by special grace to pay the expenses of themselves, of their valets and horses while going to the schools where my lord has sent them and to return before my said lord. By mandement of my said lord and quittance given Wednesday, 4th February 1377 [n.s.].... VIxx francs.
(ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIxxlv; doc. 23)

1378. To the minstrels of my lord, as a gift made to them by my lord this time by special grace to go from Ghent into Germany to the schools and to return before my lord, and to support the expenses and expenditures that they will make in said voyage. By mandement of my lord without other quittance given in Paris 6th March 1378 [n.s.].... C francs.
(ACO, B 1452, fol. 65; doc. 25)

1384. To Jehan de Dynant, Alphon, Loyset Mulier, and Claux Tabourin, minstrels of my lord, as a gift made to them by my said lord this time by special grace to go into Germany to the schools of their profession in Lent, 1384 [n.s.]. That is: to each of them, L francs. By mandement of my said lord and quittance from them given 8th February 1384 [n.s.].... IIc francs.
(ACO, B 1461, fol. 117v [CXXVlv]; doc. 43)

1386. To Jehan de Dynant, Halfons, Louyset, Claux, Guillot, Jossequin, and Jacot, minstrels of my lord, as a gift made to them by my lord for their schools this present year and to buy instruments. By mandement of my lord and quittance given 24th March 1386 [n.s.].... IIIc francs.
(ACO, B 1462, fol. 109v [CXv]; doc. 57)

1389. To Claux, Willemot, and Jacob, minstrels of my said lord, as a gift made to them by said lord in consideration of the good and agreeable services that they have made to him for a long time, make each day, and that he hopes they will make in times to come; and for... their expenditures and expenses while going to the schools in Germany, remaining there, and returning before my said lord, just as on other occasions said lord has been accustomed to do. That is: to each of them, L francs. For this paid to the above said III minstrels.... by mandement of said lord the duke given 20th August 1389.... CL fr.
(ACO, B 1508, fol. 107v [CVlv]; doc. 74)

The custom of sending the Burgundian minstrels to the schools came to an end during the final decade of the fourteenth century. The last expenditure of this type by Philip the Bold was apparently made in 1394, and the tradition was not continued by his successor, John the Fearless.

Although Margaret of Flanders, duchess of Burgundy, had her own household personnel during these years, there were no musicians among her staff. When she travelled in the company of her husband, Philip the Bold, or when Philip's court visited Burgundy, Margaret naturally availed herself of the services of the ducal minstrels. At other times, the duchess had to rely on local Burgundian performers and on whatever musicians happened to be close at hand. There was, however, certainly no lack of musical variety in Margaret's life. In 1374, the trumpeters of Hugues de Chalon performed before her,⁷² and the next year Pierrot, the harper of the duchess of Bar,⁷³ did likewise.⁷⁴ The following year a payment was made to «un menestrier de bouche» of the count of Savoy who had «recorda pluseurs diz devant madame.»⁷⁵ On All Saints' Day, 1383, Margaret and her children heard «plusieurs menestrels, vieleurs et chanteurs qui pour plusieurs jours ont joué et chanté.»⁷⁶ Similarly, on 25th April 1385, several wind players belonging to Louis II of Anjou, king of Sicily, «cornerent devant madame la duchesse» when she was in Flanders.⁷⁷ The baptism of each new child born to Philip and Margaret traditionally called for musical entertainment.⁷⁸ Since Philip was usually travelling outside his duchy at the time of the birth and baptism of his children, Margaret utilized the minstrels of Dijon and other Burgundian towns on these occasions. Incidentally, Margaret of Flanders, who is described by Froissart as a woman «crueuse et austère,»⁷⁹ was much more parsimonious in the payments she made to musicians than was her husband, Philip the Bold; indeed the value of the gratuities offered by the duchess averaged less than half those presented by the duke.

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The addition of Flanders to the Burgundian domain in 1384 afforded Philip the Bold the funds to augment the number of minstrels in his employ and increase the financial benefits he extended to these musicians. By the fall of

72 ACO, B 1441, fol. LVI.

73 Mary of France, sister to Philip the Bold.

74 ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXIIv. This same minstrel again performed before the duchess in the summer of 1377 (ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIxxXIIIv).

75 ACO, B 1445, fol. VIxxIV; doc. 9.

76 ACO, B 1461, fol. 104v [CXIIIv]; doc. 38.

77 ACO, B 1463, fol. 141; doc. 52.

78 There were eleven children born to Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders between 1371 and 1391, although only seven of these survived childhood (Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 81). Musicians can be shown to have attended at least nine of the eleven baptisms. See, for example, ACO, B 1444, fol. LXX; doc. 8.

79 See d'Avout, *Querelle*, p. 25.

1384, three new minstrels, Jossequin du Jardin, Guillemot de Hucorgne, and Jacot Smul, all formerly in the service of the count of Flanders, had been added to the Burgundian rolls.⁸⁰ The performers at court now included Jean de Dinant, Louis Mulier, Nicolas Alfons, Jossequin du Jardin, Guillemot de Hucorgne, and Jacot Smul, all apparently wind instrumentalists, a tambourinist, Claus Tabourin, and a trumpeter, Nicolas de la Marche.⁸¹ No fewer than half of these men, Jean, Jacot, Guillemot, and Claus, came from Flemish or German towns.

The compensation received by these eight musicians followed the system of remuneration established during the early years of Philip's reign. Daily wages were paid each performer at the rate of eight sous, an increase of three sous over the previous decade.⁸² As before, each man was furnished with a valet and two horses. Meals were taken at the ducal residences, except during those periods when the minstrels journeyed outside the court. The livery of the musicians, which included shoes, hose, undergarments, an outer robe, and a special riding raiment, was provided by the duke. The expensive outer robe was supplied annually and the color changed from year to year. For example, the minstrels were dressed in red and black in 1388, in red and brown in 1392, and in red and green in 1393.⁸³ It is noteworthy that the trumpeter was never clothed in the same color as the other men, and the material of his robe was of a slightly higher quality. The costume of each musician was completed with an escutcheon on which the coat of arms of Philip the Bold was executed in silver.

When at court, the minstrels were housed either in the duke's hotel or in nearby quarters assigned to court personnel. Beyond this, each musician maintained a private domicile, in Paris or elsewhere, which the duke of Burgundy often helped to finance. In 1385, we see Claus Tabourin gratified by fifty francs «pour luy aidier à paier une maison qu'il a achetee à Paris.»⁸⁴ and ten years later a similar gift was made to Jean de Dinant to help him purchase a house in Châtillon-sur-Seine.⁸⁵ Also, special payments were occasionally granted to transport the wives of the minstrels to the court⁸⁶ or to pay the travelling expenses of musicians when they left the court to visit their own homes.⁸⁷

80 See above p. 20.

81 A minstrel called «Gastinois» is listed in the accounts of the court at various times during the years 1393-1398 (ACO, B 33 F 26, liasse, no folio; and ACO, B 1514, fol. 242v [IIcXLv]), but it is not certain whether he was a temporary or permanent employee.

82 In 1378, each musician received five sous per day (ACO, B 3204, liasse, no folio). By 1385, the allotment had been raised to eight sous (ACO, B 321bis, liasse, no folio).

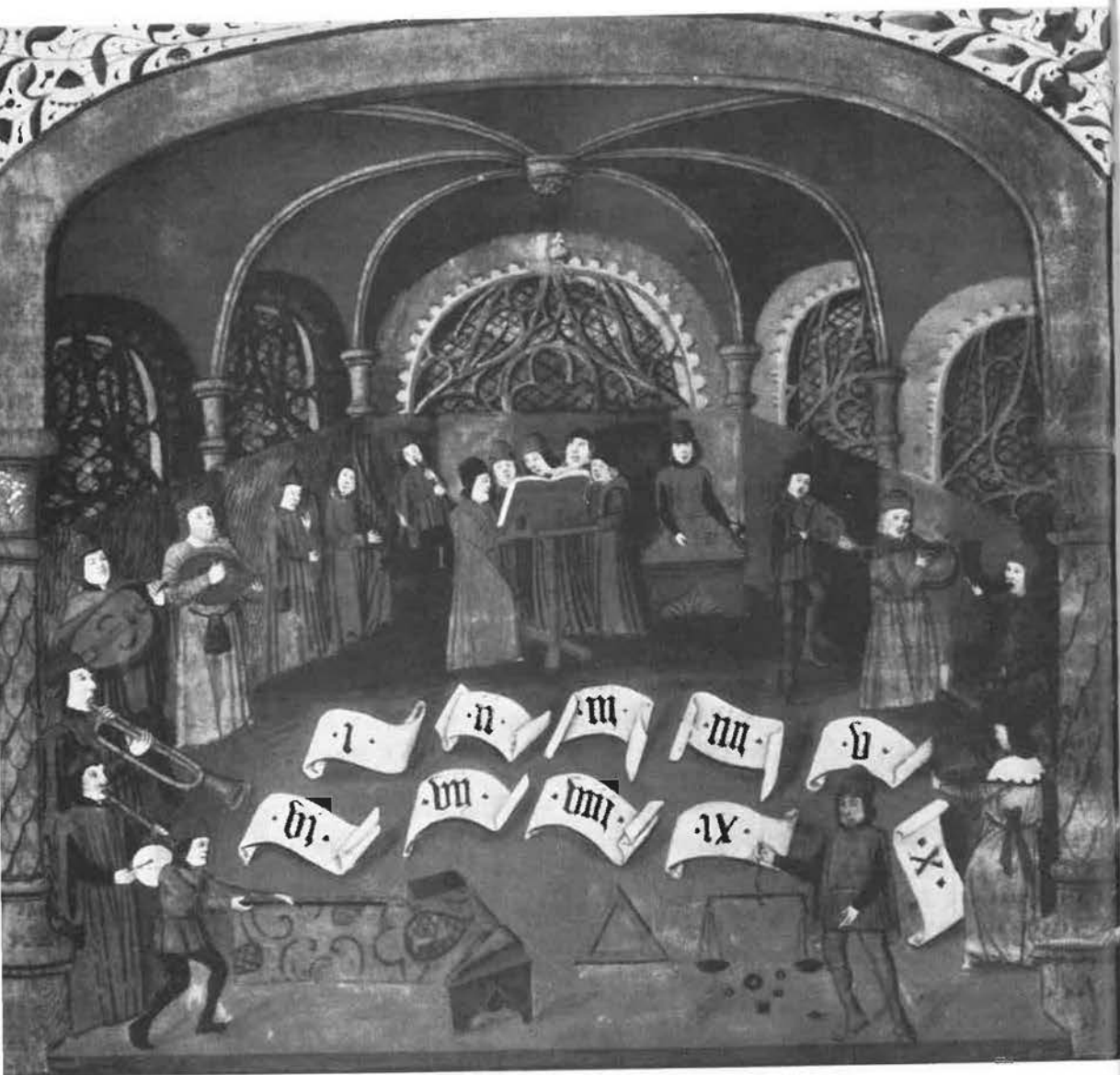
83 ACO, B 1476, fol. 22v [XXIIv]; doc. 69; ACO, B 1495, fol. 65v [LXVv]; and ACO, B 1501, fol. 57 [LVIII].

84 ACO, B 1463, fol. 131; doc. 50.

85 ACO, B 1511, fol. 61v [LXv].

86 Claus Tabourin received a yearly stipend of twenty francs to bring his wife to Paris (AN, B 4075, fol. 49v).

87 In the spring of 1400, for example, Guillemot de Hucorgne and Jossequin du



2. Illumination entitled *Musique et mesure* done by Jean de Nizières for a manuscript copy of Jean Corbechon's *Livre des propriétés des choses* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds frç. 22532).

As each minstrel approached the age of retirement, he began to receive a pension from the ducal treasury. In 1398, Louis Mulier was given a yearly allowance of eighty francs on consideration of «son grand age, et ses infirmités.»⁸⁸ Likewise, Jean de Dinant, Nicolas Alfons, Jossequin du Jardin, Guillemot de Hucorgne, and Claus Tabourin commenced to receive pensions of between forty and sixty francs during the last years of Philip's rule. When a minstrel terminated his work at court, the eight sou per diem wage was stopped, but the annual pension continued for the rest of his life.

In exchange for these handsome monetary rewards, the minstrels of Burgundy were required to provide multifold service. They were called upon to play at various social functions such as banquets, fêtes, conferences, tournaments, entries, dances, weddings, and baptisms, many of which were held in Paris at Philip's hôtel d'Artois. Undoubtedly, the musicians of Burgundy accompanied Philip to the *Bal des sauvages* given at the king's hôtel St. Pol in 1393 where «saillirent avant trompettes, ménestreaux, flutes, tamburins et challemies,»⁸⁹ and where courtiers held torches «en la carole pour danser.»⁹⁰ Probably, too, they were among the «trompettes, clarons et menestreulx de toutes manières d'instrumens» who sounded together when Philip entered the recalcitrant city of Ghent in 1386.⁹¹ The previous year Philip's minstrels were dressed in red and green satin for the wedding of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria held in Cambrai, and it is likely that they were among the «grant fuison de trompes et de ménestrels» who accompanied Philip when he greeted King Charles VI at the outskirts of the city and among the «flusteurs musicaux» who joined with the chaplains of the king to celebrate the nuptial mass.⁹² In the summer of 1389, Queen Isabel entered Paris after her coronation at St. Denis «cum instrumentis musicis dulciter resonantibus,»⁹³ and later in the festivities, the king and the other lords of France «dansèrent et batisrent toute la nuit.»⁹⁴ That Philip's musicians performed at these diversions can be verified by the fact that his trumpeter, Nicolas de la Marche, was given twenty francs to repair a trumpet broken during the celebration.⁹⁵

Except when specifically given leave, the Burgundian minstrels were

Jardin each received twenty *écus* for their expenses «en alent en leurs hotelz» (ACO, B 1519, fol. 158 [VIIxxXVII]).

88 Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 109v; doc. 116.

89 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Livre des trahisons*, p. 5.

90 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Pastoralet*, in *Livre des trahisons*, p. 641.

91 Kervyn de Lettenhove, «Chapitre inédit de Froissart.» p. 57.

92 Froissart, *Chroniques*, X, 314; and «Mémoires de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubert de Cambrai,» p. 539. The chronicler Nicolas Brassart in this latter source tells us that on the wedding day: «Adonck jou fis venir molt brafs cantres et flusteurs musicaux qui molt bien canterent à me messe.»

93 Religieux de Saint-Denis, *Chronique*, I, 612.

94 Froissart, *Chroniques*, XIV, 17.

95 ACO, B 1479, fol. 64v [LXIVv]; doc. 77.

duty-bound to follow in Philip's retinue during all his progressions. For this reason, we find the minstrels in different years at such widely removed places as Angers, Antwerp, and Avignon. Occasionally, a musician—often a trumpeter—would be sent outside the court to gather intelligence about an invading army or to deliver letters. In 1373, for example, Jean de Varanguien was sent into the county of Burgundy to reconnoiter the «genz d'armes» who had entered the territory;⁹⁶ and Nicolas de la Marche was dispatched on four separate occasions during the years 1378 and 1379 to carry messages throughout the duchy and county of Burgundy.⁹⁷

The need for the services of the musicians did not cease during times of war. The minstrels were required to provide entertainment for the duke and his companion warriors in their nightly camp, and the trumpeter to transform military commands into sounds. Thus, one finds the musicians of Burgundy in the army that Philip and Charles VI led against the rebellious men of Ghent at the battle of Roosebeke in 1382,⁹⁸ in the army assembled to invade England in the summer of 1386,⁹⁹ and again among the soldiers sent into Holland to fight the duke of Guelders in 1388.¹⁰⁰ It is probable, however, that the minstrels remained behind the lines when the actual combat commenced since, unlike the ducal trumpeter, they were never issued armor.

Religious holidays similarly demanded the professional labors of Philip's musicians. Burgundy, like the other important French courts of the period, marked four major feasts of the liturgical year, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All Saints' Day, with a special celebration. On these days the duke traditionally dined in the company of friends and relatives, and sported a sumptuous new livery created for the occasion.¹⁰¹ Music naturally played a large part in the festivities, so much so in fact that Philip thought it necessary to recompense his musicians beyond their daily wage. For those musicians who performed, a gratification of about ten francs was usually forthcoming:

1391. To Jehan de Dignant, Loyset, Alphons, and Claux le Tabourin, minstrels of my said lord, as a gift made to them by my said lord in recognition of the solemnity of Pentecost, 1391. By mandement of my said lord given 16th May, the year above said and quittance.... XL francs. To the above named Jehan de Dignant, Loyset, Alphons, and Semul, minstrels of my said lord, as a gift made to them by my said lord because they blew their instruments before him in his castle of Argilly where he was All Saints' Day, 1391. By mandement of my said lord the duke and on this quittance given 13th September 1396.... XXX francs. (ACO, B 1508, fol. 107 [CVI]; doc. 81)

96 ACO, B 1438, fol. LX.

97 ACO, B 1454, fols. 94, 94v, 105, and 105v.

98 ACO, B 1560, fols. CVIIv and CVIIIv; and ACO, B 1461, fols. 109v-110 [CXVIIIv-CXIX]; doc. 37.

99 AN, B 4075, fol. 82.

100 ACO, B 1475, fol. 73v [LXXIIIv].

101 David, «Philippe le Hardi au début du XVe siècle,» p. 214.

New Year's Day was observed with a like display, and if minstrels of other lords were present, they, too, would share in the rewards:

1387. To Crenisse, Jaquinot, Triboul, Contorix, minstrels of the king our lord, and to Helfons, Loyset, Jehan de Dinant, Claus Tabourin, minstrels of my said lord [of Burgundy], and to Nicolas de Condon, trumpeter of my said lord to distribute and divide among them in equal portions for their New Year's gifts of the first day of the month of January. By mandement of my said lord given 3rd January 1387 [n.s.], and quittance given the 5th of said month in said year.... C francs. (ACO, B 1465, fols. 80-80v [IIIxx-IIIxxv]; doc. 62)

There is no indication, however, that the minstrels joined forces with the singers of the chapel on these holy days. Here, as in almost every other aspect of the musical life of the court, the Burgundian records reveal a clear separation between the activities of the minstrels and those of the chaplains.

As Philip the Bold assumed the stewardship of the government of France during the last two decades of the fourteenth century, it was inevitable that the musical affairs of the court of Burgundy and those of the royal court of Charles VI should become closely interconnected. Just as Philip directed French diplomacy and treasure for his personal gain, so he made use of the royal musicians. We find them at the hôtel de Conflans joining with the minstrels of Burgundy at a wedding of one of the Burgundian court attendants in 1385,¹⁰² and the following year in Burgundy in the town of Courcelles-lès-Semur at a similar ceremony for one of the duke's administrative officers.¹⁰³ Most frequently the king's musicians were called upon to perform at the hôtel d'Artois when the king and the duke of Burgundy dined together. Naturally, there were minstrels who were favorites of both Philip and Charles. The Jaques d'Aubenton who «fait par plusieurs fois Diz» before Philip and Charles in 1381¹⁰⁴ was likely the same musician as Jaquinin le Fevre «faiseur de dis» who sang before Philip in 1392.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the «Brizcion, joueur de la corde» who performed before the king in 1381¹⁰⁶ was probably identical with the Gillet Brisejon hired to play at the wedding of a Burgundian chamber valet in 1376.¹⁰⁷ The Jean le Sage who was heard by Philip when in Burgundy in 1386¹⁰⁸ had earlier entertained Charles VI in Paris.¹⁰⁹ This musician, who seems to have been the leader of an itinerant band of minstrels, again performed at the court of Burgundy in 1392 and 1394.¹¹⁰

102 ACO, B 1463, fol. 146; doc. 53.

103 ACO, B 1465, fol. 89v [IIIxxVIIIv].

104 Archives nationales, KK 30, fol. 44v.

105 ACO, B 1495, fol. 50v [Lv].

106 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel*, p. 11

107 ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIxxXIII.

108 ACO, B 1465, fol. 102v [CIIv].

109 Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel*, p. 108.

110 ACO, B 1495, fol. 96 [IIIxxXVI]; and ACO, B 1500, fol. 89 [IIIxxVIII]. Jean le Sage always appears in the company of other minstrels who are listed as his companions.

Another mutual favorite was the Jean de Creseques who played before Philip in 1392;¹¹¹ he was eventually taken into the royal household and is listed there as late as 1419.¹¹² Guillebert de Metz, writing of Paris as it was around 1407, names Jean de Creseques as the most illustrious rebec-player then in the city.¹¹³

The Burgundian nexus of familial and artistic interdependence also extended to the courts of Berry and Bourbon. The regularity with which the minstrels of John, duke of Berry, and Louis, duke of Bourbon (cousin to Philip the Bold), were drawn into the Burgundian musical milieu is demonstrated by the following payments:

1383. To the minstrels of my lord the duke of Berry who have entertained before my lord [of Burgundy], as a gift made to them by my lord, XXX francs. To the minstrels of my lord the duke of Bourbon, for the same, XV francs.... Given 29th November 1383.
(ACO, B 1461, fol. 113v [CXXIIv]; doc. 39)

1385. To the minstrels of the king and of my lord the duke of Bourbon, as a gift made to them by my lord to divide among them in equal portions. By mandement of my said lord and quittance given 2nd January 1385 [n.s.]... C francs.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 131; doc. 51)

1387. To two young minstrels who have played the harp, as a gift made to them this time, X francs; and to III young minstrels of my lord of Bourbon, XX fr., which my said lord has given them. For all by mandement of my said lord without quittance given 7th January 1387 [n.s.]... XXX francs.
(ACO, B 1465, fol. 103 [CIII]; doc. 63)

1387. Item, to the minstrels of my lords of Berry and of Bourbon which my lord [of Burgundy] gave them when they blew their instruments in Paris before my said lord, C francs.... By mandement of my said lord given 13th February 1387 [n.s.], without quittance.
(ACO, B 1469, fol. 45 [XLV]; doc. 64)

1390. To Stroman, minstrel of my lord the duke of Bourbon, which my said lord [of Burgundy] has given him when he came before him in the city of Bruges, X francs.... Mandement of said lord made on this 24th February 1390.
(ACO, B 1479, fol. 81v [IIIxxIV]; doc. 78)

In 1400, he was paid by the town of Abbéville to attend the schools of the minstrels held that year in Beauvais (Macqueron, «Essai sur l'histoire de la Confrérie,» pp. 297-298). This may have been the same Jean le Sage who appears as a chamber valet to John the Fearless in 1405, 1408, and 1411.

111 ACO, B 1495, fol. 86.

112 Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *France gouvernée par Jean sans Peur*, pp. 293-294.

113 Metz, *Description*, p. 233.

1390. To a 'menesterel de bouche' belonging to my lord the duke of Bourbon to whom my lord [of Burgundy] has given X francs.... By mandement of my said lord given the last day of April 1390.
(ACO, B 1479, fol. 82v [IIIxxIIv]; doc. 79)

1393. To the minstrels of my lord of Berry, as a gift made to them by my said lord at Hesdin when my said lord of Berry was there and also my said lord [of Burgundy] with him, L francs.... Given in said Boulogne 4th June 1393.
(ACO, B 1500, fol. 156v [VIIxxXVIv]; doc. 93)

As always, German and English minstrels shared in the liberalities which the affluent duke of Burgundy distributed in his final years. The minstrels of Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, displayed their talents before Philip for three consecutive days during the summer of 1384 and were rewarded with sixty francs.¹¹⁴ In July of the same year, the minstrels of Albert of Bavaria performed for the duke in Cambrai and received a comparable sum.¹¹⁵ Later Jean Houllis, Paule Houstela, and Nicolas Mainvailse, «almans.... joueurs de harpe,» were given twenty francs for their services.¹¹⁶ In 1386, a «menestrel de trompette» belonging to an unnamed German bishop¹¹⁷ entertained the court and was recompensed three francs, six sous.¹¹⁸

This mention of a «menestrel de trompette» at the court of Burgundy in 1386 warrants special attention. The Burgundian documents are consistent in their clear separation of trumpeters and minstrels. When a trumpeter is described in the accounts as a minstrel, it is usually to indicate that he played not a straight-pipe «trompette de guerre,» but rather a slide trumpet, the so-called «trompette des menestrels,» an instrument supplied with a sliding tube placed near the mouthpiece and folded in either a circular or an S shape.¹¹⁹ The presence of a slide trumpet—if indeed it was present—at the court of Burgundy in 1386 is the only known appearance of this instrument before the fifteenth century; it would substantiate the theory that the slide trumpet, the predecessor of the modern trombone, was an instrument of German origin and was introduced in France at the court of Burgundy.¹²⁰ The trumpeters who served in the regular employ of Duke Philip the Bold evidently all played the «trompette de guerre,» and unlike the minstrels of the court, they were never sent to the schools in the Low Countries.

114 ACO, B 1463, fol. 118v.

115 ACO, B 1463, fol. 117.

116 ACO, B 1479, fol. 56 [LVI].

117 Perhaps Frederick of Saarwerden, archbishop of Cologne, whose minstrels appeared at court in 1388 (ACO, B 1469, fol. 35v [XXXVv]).

118 ACO, B 1465, fol. 31 [XXXI]; doc. 60.

119 The slide mechanism made possible several additional lower fundamental tones and produced an almost completely chromatic instrument.

120 For a discussion of the early development of the «trompette des menestrels» see Polk, «Flemish Wind Bands,» pp. 38-44; and Bessler, «Posaune,» pp. 10-15. Less satisfactory are Sachs, «Chromatic Trumpets,» and Galpin, «Sackbut.»

English musicians reappeared in force before the duke of Burgundy in the year 1396. Their presence was due to the fact that negotiations for peace between England and France, like those held in Bruges twenty years earlier, were again in progress. Richard II, king of England, had agreed to marry Isabel of France, eldest daughter of Charles VI, but before the wedding he wished to confer with the duke of Burgundy at Calais.¹²¹ Philip the Bold, who was particularly desirous of peace with England because Flemish commerce was heavily dependent on English wool, left for Calais on 2nd August 1396 in the company of his brother John of Berry, and his wife Margaret.¹²² The cortège halted for four days at St. Omer where Philip engaged seven trumpeters from the towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres to add to the brilliance of his retinue.¹²³ The seven men were dressed in the livery of the duke and housed at his expense.¹²⁴ Philip's own trumpeter, Nicolas de la Marche, was likewise provided with a new vestment.¹²⁵ On 14th August, Philip the Bold's train reached the outskirts of Calais where it was met by John of Gaunt and escorted «cum instrumentis musicis» to the waiting Richard II.¹²⁶ There followed a week of pomp and ceremony, the music for which was supplied in part by the minstrels of the English king and those of the dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester, and York.¹²⁷ Undoubtedly both English and Burgundian minstrels played at the evening meals during which Richard II, John of Gaunt, and Philip the Bold dined «cum instrumentis musicis dulciter resonantibus.»¹²⁸

In October of 1396, Philip, now accompanied by Charles VI, returned to Calais for the actual espousal of Richard II and Isabel of France. Again there were elaborate feasts and displays with musical accompaniment. The payments which Philip the Bold made to «plusieurs menestres et heraux d'Angleterre» and to the «menestriers du Roy d'Angleterre»¹²⁹ were certainly among those Jean Froissart had in mind when he recorded that at Calais «minstrels were paid

121 Mirot, «Isabelle de France,» pp. 60-95.

122 Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp. 254-255.

123 ACO, B 1511, fol. 62v [LXIV]; doc. 110. This was not the first time Philip the Bold had hired other trumpeters on a short-term basis. In 1370, Philip had employed François, the trumpeter of Peter, count of Geneva, in an army sent into Aquitaine (ACO, B 319, fol. 13v), and in 1384 the duke paid Guillot du Bois, trumpeter of Charles VI, for certain secret missions (ACO, B 1463, fol. 163). Earlier, in 1382, Philip had given Guillot eight francs to buy a silver trumpet (ACO, B 1457, fol. 51). We have already had occasion to mention that Philip frequently borrowed another royal trumpeter, Guillaume Roussel (see above p. 29, n. 55).

124 ACO, B 1511, fols. 62v [LXIV] and 68 [LXVII]; docs. 110 and 108.

125 ACO, B 1511, fol. 63 [LXII].

126 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, II, 444.

127 Laborde, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, III, 123.

128 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, II, 446.

129 ACO, B 1511, fol. 136 [VixxXV]. A list of the minstrels in the service of Richard II is given in Rastall, «Minstrels,» pp. 23-25.

well and generously so that all were happy.»¹³⁰ When Isabel, the seven-year-old bride-to-be, entered the city on 30th October, she too was greeted by the sounds of clarions and other musical instruments.¹³¹ The profusion of musicians at these nuptial festivities was so great, in fact, that when Charles VI met with Richard II, it was necessary to decree that «one must not sound, nor cause to be sounded trumpets or other instruments of music,» presumably so that the two sovereigns could confer in peace.¹³²

The detailed information which the Burgundian records provide regarding the duties and financial remuneration of the minstrels affords us an insight into their relative social status in late-mediaeval court society. The minstrels of Philip the Bold, who were chosen from the servile class and remained in it, were ranked at court in the same general category as messengers, bakers, and cooks. Although they had frequent and ready access to Philip's person, they appeared before the duke only in the capacity of attendants.¹³³ Occasionally, as happened to Louis Mulier, a performer would be elevated from the position of minstrel to the far more prestigious post of chamber valet to the duke. However, in Louis' case, the appointment came only after many years of service and even then was strictly honorary.¹³⁴ But if the chances for social and professional advancement at court were limited, the opportunities for monetary gain were almost endless. In addition to their daily wages, pensions, housing grants, and monies earned on special feast days, the minstrels were annually given large sums simply in recognition of their «bons et agreables services.» The total income from all sources which each minstrel received in an average year approached four hundred francs, an amount almost ten times that earned by a typical carpenter, mason, or town minstrel of this period.¹³⁵ In purely monetary terms, the minstrels were placed on a parity with many of the duke's officers at court. Frequently, however, the performers dissipated their riches as quickly as they acquired them, and some went so far as to capitalize their pensions. In 1404, Jean de Dinant and Nicolas Alfons bet against their longevity and exchanged their pensions for a lump sum of three hundred francs.¹³⁶ Five years later, when this money had been spent, John the Fearless was forced to grant each man «vu son grand age, sa pauvreté et sa faiblesse» a daily stipend of two

130 Froissart, *Chroniques*, XV, 306: ménestrels [furent] payés bien et largement tant que tous s'en contempèrent.

131 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, II, 468.

132 Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 152: on ne sonnast, ne fait sonner trompettes, ne autres instrumens de musique.

133 Jean de Dinant's appearances on the tennis court (see above p. 26) seem to be the single exception to this rule.

134 See Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 386, n. 6.

135 The minstrel Mahieu d'Avesnes was paid an annual salary of thirty livres by the town of Lille in 1397 to be a «guetteur du beffroi» (Vanderbroeck, *Extraits analytiques*, p. 38). In Mâçon, south of Dijon, the town trumpeter, Jean Palines, was paid at an annual rate of sixty francs for the year 1417 (ACO, B 1588, fol. XIIIxxXIIv).

136 Bibl. nat., CB 27, fol. 215bis.

sous so that neither would die of hunger.¹³⁷ The minstrels of Philip the Bold, unlike the singers of the ducal chapel, had no string of fat ecclesiastical prebends to fall back upon in their old age. But employment at the court of Burgundy did provide as much security as was possible in the turbulent world of the minstrel, and for that reason it was coveted. None of the minstrels of the duke seems to have left the court of Burgundy for a position at another court, and several served Philip the Bold for more than thirty years.

* * * * *

After the death of Philip the Bold in April 1404,¹³⁸ his eldest son and successor, John the Fearless, decided not to retain the minstrels who had served his father. Instead, because many of the musicians were elderly and some had ceased to perform their duties,¹³⁹ the men were allowed to retire and expected to support themselves on the pensions assigned them by Philip. Claus Tabourin, Jossequin du Jardin, and Guillemot de Hucorgne apparently returned to Flanders, while Jean de Dinant, Nicolas Alfons, and Louis Mulier withdrew to their hotels in Burgundy.¹⁴⁰ The last named minstrel had owned a house in Dijon since 1391, and it was in that town that he died in 1421.¹⁴¹

Although the new duke of Burgundy had not received a complete household staff of his own until 1398,¹⁴² there had been minstrels at John's side since his earliest years. In 1372, when John was only a year old, he was provided with his personal gittern-player. This man, listed simply as «Symonnet, menestrier de Jehan monseigneur,» was given three francs to buy a gittern when he was retained and then, in 1374, an additional franc to repair his instrument.¹⁴³ John himself was given a small bagpipe and a flute with which to play,¹⁴⁴ and in 1384 a rebec was purchased to amuse the young prince and his sisters.¹⁴⁵ By 1385, Symonnet seems to have been replaced in favor of two harpers, Le Poupart and Thomelin.¹⁴⁶ Thomelin had played the harp before Philip the

Bold in 1367,¹⁴⁷ but not until seventeen years later was he actually retained in Burgundian service¹⁴⁸—a delay which may have been due to the harper's deficiencies as a singer. In March 1385, it was found necessary to send him to Paris «pour apprendre à chanter.»¹⁴⁹ Thomelin's vocal education appears to have lasted eight days, during which time he was paid a daily wage of two sous, eight deniers. The school that he attended in Paris may have been the school of music led by the composer Jean Vaillant, or the school of singing run by another composer of the period, Jean Tapissier, or possibly one of the «escoles des menestrelx» which Guillebert de Metz tells us then existed on the «rue des menestrels» (today part of the rue Rambuteau).¹⁵⁰

During the 1390's, John the Fearless had a number of musical attendants with him. After his return from the crusade of Nicopolis early in 1398,¹⁵¹ John made a triumphant entry into Lille, the administrative capital of Flanders, preceded by three minstrels and a trumpeter.¹⁵² Possibly these three minstrels were the Jacques de Sauilliant, Christofle d'Alemagne, and their companion Semul de Couloigne, who were listed in John's service the previous year.¹⁵³ Semul de Couloigne was probably the wind player Jacot Smul who had served John's grandfather, the count of Flanders, and who was added to Philip the Bold's retinue after the count's death in 1384.¹⁵⁴ John made use of another of Philip's minstrels at this time, one Hullin Prevost called Chissielin. Chissielin had been employed at the court of Amadeus VII, count of Savoy, in 1391 but moved to the court of Burgundy in 1394.¹⁵⁵ By 1399, he had been transferred to the household of John the Fearless to which he apparently was tenuously attached until at least 1419.¹⁵⁶ John's trumpeter in those years was named

147 ACO, B 1430, fol. 43.

148 ACO, B 1463, fol. 34v.

149 Canat de Chizy, «Marguerite de Flandre,» p. 271.

150 Metz, *Description*, p. 209. The anonymous *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique* (p. 13) says that Jean Vaillant «tenoit a Paris escolle de musique.» For a theory regarding the identity and dates of activity of Jean Vaillant, see Günther, «Johannes Vaillant.» For information on Tapissier's school of singing, see below pp. 129-130.

151 John had been the titular head of the Burgundian forces which joined with the army of Sigismund, king of the Romans, in a crusade against the Turks in 1396. The allied army was defeated by the Moslems at the battle of Nicopolis, and John was held prisoner for almost two years before being bought back by his father (see Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 59-78).

152 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 76.

153 Lespinasse, *Métiers et corporations*, III, 575.

154 See above p. 20.

155 Pirro, «Musiciens allemands et auditeurs français,» p. 75; and ACO, B 1501, fol. 57 [LVII].

156 ACO, B 1514, fol. 251 [IICXLVIII]. There is no further mention of Chissielin at court for almost twenty years, but in February 1419 he was granted a small annual pension of thirty francs in view of his advanced age and the services he rendered both Philip and John (ACO, B 1598, fol. IIIxxXVIv).

137 Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 42 (see doc. 145). Likewise, in 1406, Claus Tabourin and his wife, who are described as «anciennes gens,» were given twenty francs in order to «miculx avoir leurs substantacion» (ACO, B 1543, fol. 109v [CVIIIv]; doc. 133).

138 Even on the day he was taken ill, the duke made a number of payments to musicians. At a banquet given in Brussels on 16th April for Joan, duchess of Brabant, Philip recognized the services of minstrels from Aragón, Artois, and Brabant (Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 97).

139 Jean de Dinant is described as «hors d'estat de luy rendre aucun service» in 1403 (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 215bis; doc. 129).

140 Claus and Jossequin were paid their pensions in Lille; Guillemot was given his in Bruges; and Jean, Nicolas, and Louis received theirs in Dijon.

141 ACO, B 11492, fol. 19v.

142 Mirot, «Jean sans Peur de 1398 à 1405,» p. 129.

143 ACO, B 1435, fol. 108; and ACO, B 1441, fol. LIX; doc. 6. Symonnet still appears in the Burgundian records as minstrel to John in 1377 (ACO, B 1452, fol. 62v).

144 Prost, *Inventaires*, II, 127.

145 Prost, *Inventaires*, II, 164.

146 Canat de Chizy, «Marguerite de Flandre,» p. 292.

Chappelet, but his stay at court was of short duration.¹⁵⁷ There was apparently also a harper, Jean Martin, on John's staff in 1401, for he was given money in that year, first to repair his harp and then to buy a new one.¹⁵⁸

The early years of John's reign as duke of Burgundy witnessed a substantial reduction of musical activity at the court. Although occasional payments were made to visiting minstrels,¹⁵⁹ the new duke of Burgundy seemed more intent on consolidating his political position than enjoying the pleasures of court life. Except for the trumpeter Jean de Vedolay, mentioned only in 1405,¹⁶⁰ there are no instrumentalists listed in John's service between spring 1404 and spring 1407. But in May 1407, perhaps because he wished to appear in a state commensurate with his growing political power, John the Fearless decided to hire five performers. Four of the men, Guillaume Caillet, Jean Waterie called Wanezie, Jean Boulenger called Pagot, and Henri du Houx, were wind players, and one Christofle d'Albourg, was a trumpeter.¹⁶¹ Since these musicians were retained in Paris, it is possible that John, who was residing at his hôtel de Conflans at the time, supervised their audition. The wind players appear to have been of French origin, and at least one, Guillaume Caillet, was a resident of Paris,¹⁶² while the trumpeter, Christofle d'Albourg, may have come from Lombardy.¹⁶³ All were dressed in the livery of the duke and then in June 1407 ordered to follow him north.¹⁶⁴ When they reached the county of Flanders, the wind players were supplied with new instruments which had been manufactured for them in Bruges.¹⁶⁵

The rewards John offered his minstrels were approximately the same as those extended by Philip the Bold. Each man received a daily wage, lodging,

157 Chappelet is mentioned in John's service for the first time in 1399 (ACO, B 1514, fol. 251 [IIcXLVIII]), but he was dead by 1402 (ACO, B 5519, fol. 96).

158 ACO, B 5519, fols. 44v and 50v.

159 In 1406, for example, John paid the minstrels of Charles VI one hundred francs when they performed at the hôtel d'Artois before himself, the king, and Louis, duke of Orléans (ACO, B 1543, fol. 100v [Cv]).

160 Jean de Vedolay is listed as a trumpeter of the duke of Burgundy in July 1405 when he was paid three *écus* to defray his expenses while in Lille (ACO, B 1543, fol. 106 [CVI]).

161 Marix (*Histoire*, pp. 110, 112, and 113) incorrectly states that the wind players first appear in 1408 and 1409, and that Christofle was retained in 1404. The list of minstrels at the court of John the Fearless offered by Dannemann (*Spätgotische Musiktradition*, p. 4, n. 10) mistakenly includes six minstrels of the court of Louis of Orléans, the archrival of John the Fearless. The six minstrels of Orléans which Dannemann confuses with those of Burgundy are: Colinet Bourgois, Elbelin, Pietre Girart, Casin Morisse, Pierre le Cou, and Jean Guin.

162 Guillaume Caillet is named among the citizens of Paris who swore allegiance to John the Fearless in 1418 (Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, p. 364).

163 See Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 56 and 94.

164 ACO, B 1556, fol. 98v [IIIxxXVIIv]; and ACO, B 1547, fol. 91 [IIIxxXIII].

165 ACO, B 1547, fol. 201v [IIcIIIv].

food, clothing, transportation, and an annual pension. The pension of the minstrels was set at sixty *écus* and was paid in quarterly installments.¹⁶⁶ As before, the performers received extraordinary pay on special feast days and occasionally were given gifts.¹⁶⁷ However, the irregular but always sizeable payments which Philip the Bold made for «bons et agreables services» were discontinued by his son. The livery of John's minstrels was more ornate than it had been under his predecessor in that an elaborate fillip surrounding the device of the new duke was embroidered on each man's sleeve in silver and gold thread.¹⁶⁸ While the predominant color of the costly outer robes continued to be red, they were issued semiannually instead of annually.

Perhaps because John the Fearless was constantly embroiled in the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war, the trumpet assumed great importance at his court. In the early years of his reign, Christofle d'Albourg, who is listed as «premier trompette de guerre» and paid the unusually large pension of one hundred *écus*,¹⁶⁹ shared the trumpeters' duties with Jean de Vedolay and then with François Poulles.¹⁷⁰ When the latter musician departed for Lombardy in the spring of 1409, he was replaced by Paulin Gambrain who, like the minstrels, was to enjoy a pension of sixty *écus*.¹⁷¹ In 1410, Christofle and Paulin were purveyed with armor and harnesses worth sixty francs to serve better in the army that John mustered in the name of Charles VI to fight the Armagnacs,¹⁷² and Christofle was again supplied with armor in 1415.¹⁷³ The instruments of these two men were undoubtedly among the «merveilleux effroy de trompilles et de clarions» which responded from all sides of the army of Burgundy at the siege of Ham in the summer of 1411.¹⁷⁴ Four years later, Paulin Gambrain was ordered to accompany a delegation sent by John the Fearless to Paris to sue for peace.¹⁷⁵ Paulin must have been on excellent terms with the duke because on New Year's Day of 1414 he was presented with a coat trimmed in mink valued at one hundred and thirty-five francs.¹⁷⁶ A third trumpeter, Hennequin van Pictre from Flanders, was retained by John the Fearless before March 1414.¹⁷⁷ This musician, who played the «trompette des menestrels» as

166 ACO, B 1554, fol. 61v [LXIV]; doc. 138; and ACO, B 1556, fol. 98v [IIIxxXVIIv].

167 Guillaume Caillet, for instance, was given one hundred francs at the time of his marriage in 1409 (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 115).

168 ACO, B 1576, fol. 181 [VIIIxxXVII]. John had chosen a plane as his device symbolically to show that he wished to smooth a knotty stick, the emblem of his enemy, Louis, duke of Orléans.

169 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 239; and ACO, B 1556, fol. 52v [Lv]; doc. 137.

170 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 227.

171 Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 100.

172 ACO, B 1560, fol. 116 [VIxxIII]; doc. 155.

173 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 246.

174 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Livre des trahisons*, p. 93.

175 Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 137.

176 Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 140.

177 ACO, B 1570, fol. 53 [LXI].

well as the «trompette de guerre,» was capable of performing at court in ensemble with the woodwind players and on the field of battle with the other trumpeters. In 1418, he and Paulin Gambrain were sent by the duke of Burgundy on a secret mission for which they were recompensed ten francs.¹⁷⁸ Hennequin, who may have had the honor of having instrumental parts written especially for him, was possibly the performer who first executed the «trumpetta introitus» part in Jean François' motet *Ave virgo lux Maria*, given the fact that Hennequin was active at the court at the same time as the composer was.¹⁷⁹

In addition to the trumpeters retained at the court of Burgundy, John the Fearless also utilized those in the employ of the dauphin, Louis of Guienne, eldest son of Charles VI. Louis of Guienne, who had married John's daughter Margaret, was a passionate lover of music. The young prince had almost a dozen instrumentalists and a large number of «musiciens de bouche ou de voix» at his court,¹⁸⁰ and seems to have scandalized the denizens of Paris by his dissolute life consecrated to «a shameful idleness and to frivolous pleasures such as listening to the sounds of the organ and the noise of the tambourines.»¹⁸¹ It is also known that he «enclosed himself regularly in the most remote places in the royal palace with some of his attendants in order to play the harp with the organ.»¹⁸² John the Fearless did not hesitate to borrow from his son-in-law's fund of musical talent. In 1406, 1411, and 1414, he availed himself of the services of Louis' trumpeter, Antoine de Crapalique, and then in 1415 finally took

178 ACO, B 1598, fol. IIcIII.

179 See also below p. 170.

180 Baye, *Journal*, II, 231-232; and Félibien, *Histoire*, IV, 560.

181 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, V, 234: qui eum degenerem sequi lasciviam, turpi quoque languere ignavia, et pluribus vacare, ut resonantibus organis vel timpanis tinnientibus.

Another chronicler, Jean Juvenal des Ursins (*Histoire*, p. 335), concurs with this judgment when he says that the dauphin led «la plus mauvaise vie, & ne avoit aucun passetemps que de jouer des orgues.»

182 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, V, 586: in locis secrecioribus domus regie solitus erat manere, ut cum paucis ex suis servitoribus cytharam organo concordaret.

When Nicolas III, marquis of Ferrara, dined with the duke of Guienne on 23rd August 1414, Louis' musicians sounded the harp, vielle, flutes, and cithara (Miot, «Autour De La Paix d'Arras,» pp. 163-164). Louis' minstrels in 1414-1416 were Heliot Nicolle, Jean Millet, Oudinet l'Escuyer, and Jean Voisart called Verdelet. His trumpeters included Antoine Blanc de Milan, Colle de Somme, Mousque de Combebas, and Pierre Girard (Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1138). One of these musicians, Heliot Nicolle, was sometimes employed by the duke of Burgundy and in 1412 received a pension of sixty *écus* for one year (ACO, B 1570, fol. 53v [LXIV]). This Heliot Nicolle was probably identical to the «Aliot Nicola» who served as a shawm-player at the court of King Alfonso V of Aragón between 1418 and 1425 (see Anglés, «Música en la corte del Rey Don Alfonso V de Aragón, el Magnánimo (1413-1420),» pp. 356 and 362; and Anglés, «Música en la corte real de Aragón,» p. 105). It is possible that the *basse danse* melody *Aliot Nouvelle* was the work of this minstrel (see Crane, *Basse Danse*, p. 68).

Antoine into his own household.¹⁸³ Antoine was probably one of the two «trompettes de monseigneur de Guienne» who were in John's company at St. Denis in October 1414 and who were given pennants to adorn their instruments.¹⁸⁴ The fortunes of Antoine reached a high point in February 1418 when he was given the house and possessions that John had confiscated from Gaspard de Lunier, an Armagnac collaborator living in Dijon.¹⁸⁵ But the trumpeter's good luck was short-lived, for three months later he was wounded in a knife fight by another ducal trumpeter, Hennequin van Pictre, and died soon after.¹⁸⁶ Appropriately, Hennequin was henceforth given the sobriquet «Copetripe.»¹⁸⁷

Because of pressing political and military commitments elsewhere, John the Fearless rarely set foot in the duchy of Burgundy during his fifteen-year reign, and consequently most of the musical events of the court transpired in towns in northern France, Flanders, and the Low Countries. For the wedding of John's younger brother Anthony in August 1409, the trumpeters of the king of France and the minstrels of the duke of Berry were transported north to Brussels.¹⁸⁸ John's own minstrels were likewise led to Brussels and were supplied with a special livery sporting white, green, and black sleeves interlaced with filigree of silver thread.¹⁸⁹ On Christmas that same year, John the Fearless gave a festival dinner for Charles VI in Paris at which many instruments were sounded including flutes, tambourines, shawms, harps, vielles, and drums. When the meal was finished, the guests heard the singers of the royal chapel and «haux menestreaux» perform.¹⁹⁰ At Calais in October 1416, John met with King Henry V of England to explore the feasibility of an Anglo-Burgundian alliance. Although great secrecy surrounded these meetings, the orders of payment issued by Duke John give us an idea of the types of instrumental sounds heard at this five-day conference. Besides gifts to the minstrels of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, there were payments to the six trumpeters, the «haults menestriers,» and the «menestriers de corde» of Henry V,¹⁹¹ as well as to three trumpeters of Sigismund, king of the Romans, and to a «menestrier

183 ACO, B 1543, fol. 175 [CLXXV]; ACO, B 1562, fol. 31v [XXXIIIv]; ACO, B 1576, fol. 155v [VIIxxXIV]; and Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 218.

184 AN, B 1903, fol. VIxxVII.

185 ACO, B 339, liasse, no folio; and Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 265.

186 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 227. After Antoine's death, part of his belongings were purchased by Jean Carbonnier, a pupil of the composer Jean Tapissier (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 67).

187 This cognomen would be roughly translated «Cutgut.»

188 ACO, B 1558, fol. 96v [Cv]; doc. 150. The royal minstrels in 1416 included Jacquinet Petit, Jean d'Avignon, Armant Waguemat, and Jean Voisart called Verdelet (Archives nationales, KK 49, fol. 5v).

189 ACO, B 1562, fol. 62 [LXIII].

190 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Livre des trahisons*, p. 61.

191 A list of the minstrels in the service of Henry V is given in Rastall, «Minstrels,» pp. 28-29.

de corde à Cornauille.»¹⁹² While gathering his army at Beauvais in August 1417, John the Fearless was joined by Jean de Vergy, marshal of the duchy of Burgundy, who added to the ducal host a contingent of 10,437 men including sixty trumpeters and fifty-two minstrels.¹⁹³

The town of Sluis, lying just north of Bruges, was an especially important musical center in the Burgundian domain. When John entered this port city in 1407, he was welcomed by the sounds of trumpets and dined to the music of «trois menestrelz de bas instruments.»¹⁹⁴ John's son Philip, the future Philip the Good,¹⁹⁵ visited Sluis in 1412 and was entertained by trumpeters, several string instrumentalists, a psaltery-player, and two men who danced the moresca, all of whom were employed on different ships.¹⁹⁶ Sluis, which was also a center for the manufacture of trumpets, apparently produced most of the trumpets used at the court of Burgundy. The Burgundian clarions were usually made of silver and cost between twenty and forty francs.¹⁹⁷

Ghent and Bruges were two other Flemish centers of instrument making patronized by the musicians of the court. As early as 1379, Jean de Dinant, Nicolas Alfons, and Louis Mulier were provided with ten francs to pay for «certain instruments» that they had had fabricated in Ghent.¹⁹⁸ These were possibly recorders or shawms, since all three men were wind players and the comparatively low price of the instruments shows that they were made of wood and not of brass or silver. In 1407, Pierre Prost, a «tourneur d'instrumens pour menestriers»¹⁹⁹ in Bruges, supplied instruments for the court:

To Pierre Prevost, merchant living in Bruges, the sum of XXVIII gold *écus*, royal money, due him for the sale and deliverance of six pieces of 'grans instruments' and four 'doucaines' that this lord [of Burgundy] had taken and purchased from him at said price for his four minstrels which he recently retained in Paris. For this by mandement of my said lord given at Bruges 14th August 1407....XXVIII *écus*.
(ACO, B 1547, fols. 201v-202 [IIcIIIv-IIcV]; doc. 139)

192 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 244; doc. 166. John the Fearless also extended gratuities to the royal minstrels of Alfonso V of Aragón in 1412 and to those of John I of Portugal in 1413 (ACO, B 1476, fol. 130 [VIxxVI]; and AN, B 1903, fol. C). In 1418, he gave two hundred francs to the trumpeters and minstrels of King Sigismund at a parley in Montbéliard (ACO, B 1476, fol. IXxxVII).

193 Plancher, *Histoire*, III, 473-474.

194 ACO, B 1554, fol. 73v [LXXIIIv].

195 Philip, the only legitimate son of John the Fearless, received at least some musical training. In the winter of 1411, the young prince was given a series of lessons on the harp, the cost of which was three francs, seven sous per lesson (ACO, B 1560, fol. 110 [CXVII]; doc. 156; and ACO, B 1562, fol. 37 [XXXIX]). Philip's teacher may have been John's harper, Pierre Provostel (see below p. 132, n. 57).

196 ACO, B 1571, fol. 176 [VIIIxxVII].

197 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 199; and ACO, B 1461, fol. 125 [CXXXIII]; doc. 46.

198 Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 2.

199 AN, B 1903, fol. CCIII; doc. 161.

These were the instruments that Guillaume Caillet, Jean Waterie, Jean Boulenger, and Henri du Houx received shortly after they were engaged in 1407. Undoubtedly, the six «grans instruments» were of the shawm family and probably comprised a consort of treble shawms, tenor shawms (called bombardes), and perhaps a contratenor; the four «doucaines» were cromornes.²⁰⁰ Certainly the Thibaut de Strasbourg whom John hired in 1416 as a «menestrel de bombarde»²⁰¹ played the tenor shawm, and quite possibly the man he replaced, Jean Boulenger, also performed on this instrument. In 1413, Pierre Prost of Bruges was again called upon to provide new instruments for the court, and in exchange for twenty-one francs, ten sous, he produced «cinq pieces instrumens, tant bombardes comme chalemies.»²⁰² Again, as the relatively low price indicates, these instruments must have been made of wood. In sum, the instrumental sounds which dominated the Burgundian musical scene were those of the trumpets and shawms, instruments which were produced and purchased not in Dijon or Paris, but in the Flemish cities of Sluis, Ghent, and Bruges.²⁰³

The anonymous author of the *Echecs amoureux* (writing around 1370–1380) tells us that trumpets, shawms, and tambourines, the principal instruments of the Burgundian court, were thought to be among the «hauts» or loud instruments and believed to be well suited for playing dance music:

Et quant il vouloient danser
Et faire grans esbattemens,
On sonnoit les haulz instrumens,
Qui mieulx aux dansez plaisoient
Pour la grant noise qu'ilz faisoient.
La peuist on oir briefment
Sonner moult de renouissement
Trompez, tabours, tymbrez, naquaires,
Cymballes (dont il n'est mes guaires)
Cornemusez et chalemelles
Et cornes de facion moult belles.²⁰⁴

200 Reese, *Renaissance*, p. 57.

201 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 90.

202 AN, B 1903, fol. CCIII; doc. 161. Pierre Prost made instruments for the court of Burgundy again in 1423 and 1425 (see Marix, *Histoire*, p. 102).

203 When John the Fearless drew up his army outside Montdidier in September 1411, the musicians in his employ made «ung grand bruit sonner trompettes et chalemies» (Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Livre des trahisons*, p. 102).

204 Abert, «Échecs Amoureux», p. 355:

And when people wished to dance
And have great celebration
They sounded the loud instruments
Which were more pleasing at dances
For the great noise that they made.
There one could quickly hear

The iconography of the period confirms that at dances and festival occasions the standard performing force was a choir of shawms, a «trompette des menestrels,» and frequently a tambourine and pipe.²⁰⁵

The violent world of John the Fearless came to an abrupt end late in the summer of 1419: on 10th September the second duke of Burgundy of the house of Valois was murdered by the Armagnacs as he walked onto the bridge at Montereau to treat with his enemies for peace. Sensing the danger that surrounded this confrontation, John had prudently left most of his household personnel, including his minstrels and chaplains, behind in Burgundy for their safety. When news of the duke's assassination reached Dijon, the duchess of Burgundy, realizing that the minstrels might be lured away to other courts, gave the men one hundred and twenty francs to hold them until such time as the new duke, Philip the Good, who was then residing in Ghent, could decide if he wished to retain his father's minstrels or dismiss them.²⁰⁶ The duchess recognized the talents of these performers when six weeks later she authorized a second retainer of one hundred and fifty-five francs in which it was declared that if Philip were to discharge John's musicians, «par aventure il n'en pourroit

Sound by reinforcement
Trumpets, tabours, tambourines, nacaires
Cymbals (which are never rare)
Bagpipes and shawms
And horns in a most pleasing fashion.

205 The «bas» or soft instruments were likewise employed at banquets and dances (see Marix, *Histoire*, p. 51), and on occasion they were used to accompany singers during the celebration of the mass. The following account is related in a journal of an unknown Parisian author writing in the year 1412: «This same day [Tuesday 7th June] the ***** apprentices of trade, each barefoot with a white candle in his hand on which was written 'Vive le Roy' and escutcheons of III fleurs de lis, made a noble procession around the cloister of the church of St. Innocent [situated on Rue St. Denis], where there were at least forty priests, each with a reliquary in his hand; then they had said before the altar of St. Louis in said church a fine mass, in which participated the best singers which could then be found in Paris and an organ and a large quantity of 'bas instrumens,' so that the people said it was the finest mass they had ever seen said or sung.» (Tuetey, «Journal parisien,» pp. 163-164: Item, ce jour, les ***** aprentis de la mercherie, chascun nuz piés et ung cierge en son poin de cire blanche peinte où estoit escript 'Vive le Roy,' et ung escusson à III fleurs de lis, firent faire autour du cloestre Saint-Innocent une noble procession, où estoient bien XL prestres, tout chascun un reliquere en son poin, puis firent dire en ladicte eglise devant l'autel saint Loys une belle messe, où estoient des meilleurs chantres qui pour lors fussent à Paris, et avoit orgues et grant quantite de bas instrumens, tant que le [peuple] disoit que c'estoit la plus belle messe que oncques ilz eust [veu] dire ne chanter).

The large number of instruments which assisted in this «belle messe» may have included harps, lutes, recorders, vielles, and rebecs, since they were all considered to be among the family of the «bas» instruments. 7th June 1412 was apparently not a solemn feast day. As the editor of the journal remarks (p. 163), this was just one of the many processions and masses held in Paris in 1412 in expectation of peace between the warring Armagnacs and Burgundians.

206 ACO, B 1598, fol. XIIIxxVI.

recouvrer nulz si bons.»²⁰⁷ Philip, too, apparently shared this opinion, for by the following year he had engaged all seven of his father's instrumentalists, four woodwind players and three trumpeters.²⁰⁸

The minstrels of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless were retained first and foremost to be performers. We have no indication that any of them were composers or that they were even capable of reading musical notation. They probably learned their professional skills and musical répertoire orally at the schools of their métier and during long years of apprenticeship. Most of the men, the trumpeters, tambourinists, and shawm-players, played the «hauts instruments,» and it was they who entertained at the unending succession of banquets, dances, tournaments, and entries which marked Burgundian court life. At supper and in moments of privacy and spiritual reflection, the dukes of Burgundy would listen to the music of the «bas instruments,» such as the harp and the organ, and to the voices of the singers of the chapel. The minstrels and trumpeters, of course, did not provide these sounds: this more intimate art was the responsibility of the ducal chamber valets and chaplains.

207 ACO, B 1598, fols. XIIIxxX-XIIIxxXv; doc. 171.

208 Most of these musicians remained at the court of Philip the Good for many years. Paulin Gambrain, for example, was still there in 1458; Thibaut de Strasbourg in 1449; and Guillaume Caillet in 1440. Only Hennequin Copetripe, who after 1421 is listed in the service of Nicolas III, marquis of Ferrara, appears to have left Burgundy for a position at another court. For biographical information about John's musicians during the reign of Philip the Good, see Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 111-113.



3. Sixteenth-century copy of a lost contemporary portrait of Duke Philip the Bold (Musée de Versailles).

The Chapel of Philip the Bold

It is curious that Philip the Bold, despite his interest in music and his passion for luxuriant display, had no chapel of musicians to sing the divine service before him during the first half of his forty-year reign. The absence of a musical chapel at the Burgundian court seems all the more anomalous in that the brothers of the image-conscious duke of Burgundy already had their own private chapels at this time. The eldest brother, King Charles V, heard his «souveraine chappelle» of eleven chaplains and six clerks celebrate the mass «glorieusement chascun jour à chant melodieux et solemnel,»¹ while Louis, duke of Anjou, supported a half dozen singers including a «chapellain et teneur,» Pierre le Bretois, and the composer Matheus de Sancto Johanne.² As early as 1372 the third brother, John, duke of Berry, maintained a chapel of six chaplains, one clerk, and two choirboys at a cost of more than 2,000 francs annually.³ But Philip the Bold seemed content to have the liturgy performed at the court of Burgundy without music. Before 1384, the duke had only a single chaplain (Etienne de Heiz), a confessor (Guillaume de Vallan), an almoner (Thomas de Chapelles),⁴ and a clerk (Jean Grisel)⁵ to attend to his spiritual needs. The separate duties of these clerics made them completely independent of each other, and they in no way constituted an organized musical chapel. When the duke of Burgundy wished to hear mass and the canonical hours sung in ceremonial solemnity, he visited a cathedral, basilica, or collegiate church. In 1368, for instance, it is recorded that Philip the Bold heard mass and made offerings at the cathedral of Troyes, at Saint Denis, at the Sainte Chapelle of Paris, and at the Sainte Chapelle of Dijon.

The Sainte Chapelle of Dijon, situated adjacent to the ducal palace there, had been founded in 1172 as a collegiate church by the Capetian dukes of Burgundy, and it continued to receive support from the Valois dukes in the form of an annual grant of three hundred francs.⁶ Because of its proximity to the palace, the Sainte Chapelle was the place of worship most frequented by Duke Philip the Bold and Duchess Margaret when they resided in their capital.⁷ Yet the Sainte Chapelle of Dijon was neither a private institution nor one which

1 Pisan, *Livre des fais*, I, 44; and Delisle, *Mandements*, p. 89.

2 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 11863, fol. 27; and Clercx and Hoppin, «Notes biographiques,» p. 76.

3 Archives nationales, KK 251, fol. 100v.

4 For biographical information on these men, see Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 71, n. 1; 93, n. 1; and 283, n. 2.

5 Jean de Grisel had been added to the household of Philip the Bold by 1382 (Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 102). He disappears from the Burgundian rolls after 1386.

6 Bibl. nat., CB 21, fols. 18v and 49; and d'Arbaumont, *Sainte-Chapelle*.

7 See Fyot, *Dijon*, pp. 431-434.

could travel with the duke as he moved from one residence to another. Perhaps Philip came to desire a more personal chapel, one fitting his private needs and capable of following him in his displacements. Whatever the reason, in the spring of 1384 the duke of Burgundy decided to hire his own singers to travel with him and perform the divine service.

The occasion which afforded Philip the opportunity to form his personal chapel was the death of Louis, count of Flanders, in January of 1384.⁸ Within three months after Louis' passing, eight of the ten chaplains and clerks who had been in the service of the count were taken into the household of Philip the Bold. Initially, however, there seems to have been some question in Philip's mind as to what to do with Louis' singers; although the count's chaplains and clerks were formally relieved of their duties on the day of Louis' interment (28th February 1384), the orders to retain them in Philip's service were not issued until more than six weeks later. In the interim, a retainer of eighty francs was given the men to hold them until Philip could decide what to do.⁹ Finally, on 14th April, the duke directed that Jean Abidon, Toussains Prier, Jean Garnier called d'Ambrun, Jean Grosseteste, Jean Martin, Jean de Hamencourt, and Henri de Zurendriesch be engaged at his court.¹⁰ The letters of retention indicate that these men were hired because of the «bon rapport» made of their character and professional competence. The chaplains and clerks were given money to buy clothes¹¹ and provided with horses so they could follow in the retinue of their new lord.¹² Undoubtedly, Philip the Bold chose this time to engage these musical clerics because he felt a responsibility for the household staff formerly in the service of his father-in-law and because the acquisition of Flanders gave him the financial means to increase the size of his court. Of the chaplains in Louis' employ in 1383,¹³ only Pierre de Gremigny, who was given forty francs as severance pay,¹⁴ and Nicolas Barin were not engaged by the duke of Burgundy.

On 25th April 1384, Philip added Henri Potage and Symon le Corier to his chapel, the former as a clerk and the latter as a chaplain.¹⁵ Henri Potage had served as clerk to Louis of Male since at least 1375.¹⁶ On several occasions during the 1370's, he had been taken into the Burgundian household as a temporary employee. In 1376, for example, he accompanied Philip the Bold to

Avignon and acquired «certain bulles» for the duke.¹⁷ Symon le Corier had also passed time in Avignon. Symon, who came from the diocese of Tournai and is listed as a singer at Avignon during 1362-1363 in the chapel of Hugues Roger, cardinal of Tulle, had held benefices at collegiate and parochial churches in Cambrai and Furnes, and canonicates in the cathedrals of Tournai and Noyon between 1362 and 1372.¹⁸

Symon le Corier and the chaplains and clerks formerly belonging to the count of Flanders provided the nucleus of Philip the Bold's new chapel. After these men had been taken into his service, Philip rode south to Paris where, on 27th May, three additional singers, Jacques de Fescamp, Jean de Coulommiers, and Nicole de Hamencourt were hired;¹⁹ shortly thereafter «un livre de mocetes» was purchased at a price of thirteen francs.²⁰ In July, Guillaume Moreau and Jean Ondanch were added to the rolls of the chapel.²¹ Wages were set at a daily rate of eight sous for chaplains and five sous, four deniers, for clerks. The chaplains also enjoyed an annual pension of forty francs and the clerks a pension of thirty francs.

The important position of first chaplain was assigned to Jean Fillon called de Chartres (see plate 4).²² Jean de Chartres had been a member of the chapels of Kings Charles V and VI since at least 1369 and, like Henri Potage, had served the duke of Burgundy on a temporary basis at various times during the 1370's.²³ The other five men engaged in Paris, Jacques de Fescamp, Jean de Coulommiers, Nicole de Hamencourt, Guillaume Moreau, and Jean Ondanch, appear to have had no prior association with the courts of Burgundy or Flanders, and it is difficult to determine where they were employed before being retained by Philip the Bold. What can be said with certainty is that only one of the fifteen members of the new chapel of the duke of Burgundy, Jean de Coulommiers, came from Burgundy: the other fourteen men can be shown to have had ties with northern France or Flanders.²⁴ The chapel of Philip the Bold on 10th July 1384 was as follows:

17 ACO, B 1451, fol. LXXIIIv.

18 Fierens, *Suppliques d'Urbain V*, pp. 33 and 398; and Fierens and Tihon, *Lettres d'Urbain V*, p. 58.

19 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 156.

20 ACO, B 1463, fol. 161; doc. 49.

21 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 156.

22 ACO, B 1461, fol. 35v [XLIIIv]; doc. 47. Jean de Chartres was retained as first chaplain on 30th May 1384.

23 ACO, B 1430, fol. 151v; ACO, B 1441, fols. XXIV and XLI; ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXIX; ACO, B 1445, fols. LXIII and IIIxxXIXv; and ACO, B 1451, fols. LXXIIv, LXXIIIv, LXXIIIv, and IIIxxIX.

24 Jean de Coulommiers, who was called «le Bourgoing» (ACO, B 1487, fol. 24v [XXVIv]), undoubtedly came from Burgundy. Jean Fillon de Chartres certainly was from Chartres, though he spent much of his time in Paris and possessed a hotel in the royal palace on the Île de la Cité (Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 203). Guillaume Moreau likewise

8 A detailed account of the death and burial of Louis of Male is given in Froissart, *Chroniques*, X, 278-285.

9 ACO, B 1461, fols. 162-162v [CLXXI-CLXXIV]; doc. 44.

10 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 156.

11 ACO, B 1461, fol. 125v [CXXXIIIv].

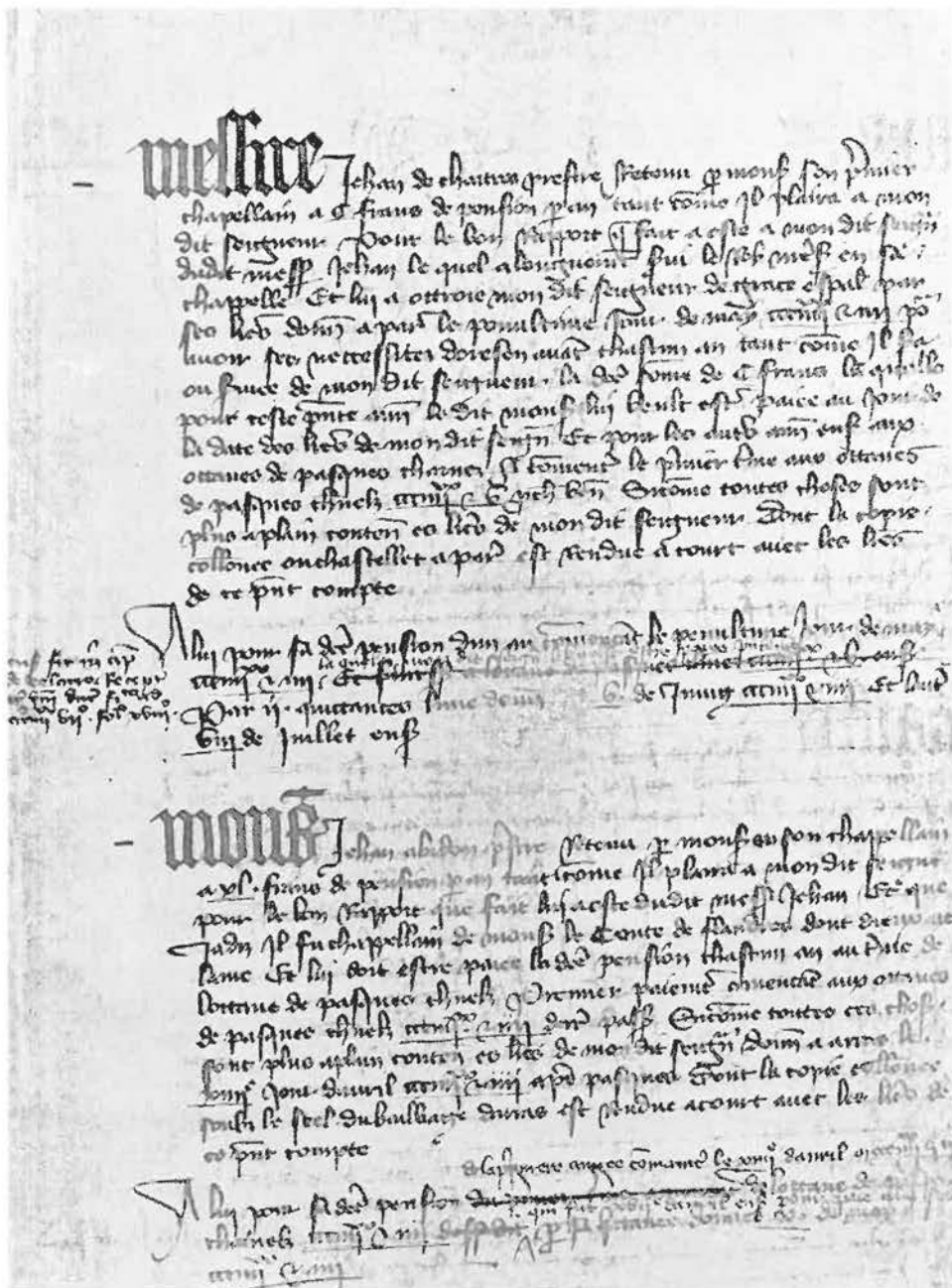
12 ACO, B 1461, fol. 92 [CI].

13 For a list of the singers of the chapel of Louis of Male in 1383, see above p. 21.

14 AN, B 4073, fol. 64v.

15 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 156.

16 ACO, B 1445, fol. LXXIX.



4. First extant record of the formation of the chapel of Duke Philip the Bold—a list of the chaplains and clerks beginning with Jean de Chartres (Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or, B 1461, fol. 35v [XLIIV]).

Chaplains

Jean de Chartres [first chaplain]
 Jean Abidon
 Toussains Prier
 Jean d’Ambrun
 Symon le Corier
 Jacques Fescamp
 Jean de Coulommiers
 Guillaume Moreau

Clerks

Jean Grosseteste
 Jean Martin
 Jean de Hamencourt
 Henri de Zurendriesch
 Henri Potage
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Jean Ondanch

Whether a new singer of the chapel was retained in the post of chaplain or in the less lucrative position of clerk depended solely upon his ecclesiastical rank. A singer would be hired as, or promoted to, chaplain if and when he attained the priesthood. For instance, on 13th November 1384, Jean Martin and Jean Grosseteste were elevated to chaplains because they were «en estat de prendre la pretise.»²⁵ Similarly, Jean de Hamencourt was advanced to chaplain on 2nd March 1385, because he had «devenu pretre.»²⁶ Philip the Bold gave encouragement to his singers, in the form of monetary rewards, to better their positions in the hierarchy of the church. When Jean de Hamencourt finally said his first mass in 1395, the ceremony was held in the hotel of the bishop of

was associated with the capital through the chaplainry he held at the king’s Sainte Chapelle (Brenet, *Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 22). Jacques de Fescamp was likely from the town of Fécamp on the coast of Normandy; in his later years he resided in nearby Rouen (ACO, B 1532, fol. 86 [IIIxxVII]). The Hamencourts, Jean and Nicole, may have come from the small town of Hamencourt located thirty miles north of Amiens. By 1395, Jean de Hamencourt had purchased a house in Amiens and was a canon in the cathedral of that town (Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 43). A papal supplication of 1404 tells us that Jean Martin apparently came from the diocese of Noyon (not Noyen as stated in Anglès, «Gacian Reyneau,» p. 69; and Reese, *Renaissance*, p. 575).

The other members of Philip’s chapel appear to have come from Flanders. Jean d’Ambrun was in the service of the family of Cassel of Flanders before joining the court of the count of Flanders (AN, B 1573, fol. 79). Jean Abidon owned a house in Oude-naarde during the 1380’s (AN, B 1475, fol. 67). Jean Grosseteste and Symon le Corier were from the diocese of Tournai, and Toussains Prier held ecclesiastical benefices in the diocese of Thérouanne (Fierens, *Suppliques d’Urbain V*, p. 33; Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, pp. 673 and 730; Berlière, *Collectories*, pp. 459, 556, 563, and 578; and Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire*, II, 845). Henri Potage had his residence «ou pays de monseigneur en Flandre» (ACO, B 1461, fol. 118 [CXXVII]; doc. 42), possibly in the city of Malines (ACO, B 1563, fol. 163v; and AN, B 1861, No. 51851), while Henri de Zurendriesch likely came from the town of Zurendriesch, southeast of Ghent. Another clerk of the chapel, Jean Ondanch, owned a house and lands in Ghistelle beginning in 1387 (AN, B 4075, fol. 67) and was buried in nearby St. Donatien in Bruges (Gilliodts-Van Severen, «Obituaire de Saint-Donatien,» pp. 328 and 341).

²⁵ Bibl. nat., CB 23, fols. 68 and 87.

²⁶ Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 156.

Paris (Pierre d'Orgemont), and the duke of Burgundy and his son John presented the priest with gifts totalling one hundred and sixty francs.²⁷ Naturally, since the process of taking this holy order usually required several years, the chaplains tended to be the older members of the chapel. Those men who for one reason or another did not reach the priesthood remained clerks. Because of their position within the church, their daily association with the divine service, and the many benefices they held in churches throughout France and Flanders, the singers of the chapel of Burgundy probably thought of themselves firstly as ecclesiastical officials and only secondarily as musicians.

That musical proficiency was not a criterion in determining a singer's standing within the chapel is indicated by the three appointments made to the chapel of Burgundy from 1385 to 1387. On 13th March 1385, Jacques de Templeuve, sometimes called Jacques Beaudieu, was added to the staff.²⁸ A native of the town of Arras, Jacques de Templeuve had been thoroughly trained in music as an «enfant de chœur» at the cathedral of Chartres.²⁹ Yet young Jacques was retained in the chapel of Burgundy only as a clerk, undoubtedly because he had not attained the priesthood at the time of his engagement. The same is true of Cassin Hullin who was hired in 1385 to be both a chamber valet to Philip the Bold and a «chantre» in his chapel.³⁰ Cassin Hullin, who may have been the composer «Chassa[in]» in the Apt MS,³¹ was also engaged only as a clerk. In recognition of Cassin's talents, Philip paid him the same wage and pension as the other chaplains, but because this singer had not become—and after his marriage in 1395 could not become—a priest, Philip did not confer upon him the title of chaplain. With the addition of Robert Souvent, however, on 12th August 1386,³² the chapel received as chaplain a man who had taken the holy orders but seemingly had had little musical training. At the time he was appointed to the chapel of Burgundy, Robert Souvent was a monk serving the church of Ste. Katherine-du-val-des-écoliers in Paris. His previous musical experience appears to have been limited to a few singing lessons in the «escole de chant»³³ where it was found necessary to send him in the spring of 1386 «in order to learn to sing so that he can better serve my lord [of Burgundy] in the capacity of chaplain, in which my said lord intends to retain him.»³⁴

The presence of Cassin Hullin as clerk and «chantre» of the chapel of Philip demonstrates conclusively that the clerks were asked to sing the liturgy with the chaplains as well as to perform nonmusical functions. Nor was Cassin the only clerk of the chapel of Burgundy who helped celebrate the service with music. Jean Ondanch, one of the few Flemings of the chapel, served as organist for the singers. In 1385, six years before he was elevated from clerk to chaplain, the young man is referred to as «Hennequin d'Orgue,»³⁵ and in April of the following year he was given six francs «pour apprendre à jouer des orgues.»³⁶ That at least some of the clerks were trained to help sing polyphonic music at the service is borne out by the case of Jean Bakre who was retained as a clerk in 1391 and is listed as «clerc et teneur de la chapelle.»³⁷ It is important to establish that the clerks did in fact sing the service with the chaplains; for by their addition the size of the performing force of the chapel of Burgundy is increased (depending upon the year) by as much as eighty percent.

In 1388, Philip the Bold instituted a procedure which further defined the position of the clerks within the chapel. Before that year, clerks were sometimes referred to as «sommeliers»—the terms «clerk» and «sommelier» being synonymous and interchangeable. On 14th April 1388, Philip added two new men to the ranks of the chapel: Jean Haussant, who was retained as a clerk with an annual pension of thirty francs, and Etienne des Mares, who was engaged as a sommelier at a pension of only twenty francs.³⁸ Henceforth, a clear distinction was made between the clerks, who performed the liturgy with the chaplains, and the lower-paid sommeliers, who helped with nonliturgical chores.³⁹ Besides the sommeliers, there were more than a dozen valets and carters who executed the manual labor of the chapel.⁴⁰

With the addition of Jean Bakre to the chapel as clerk and tenor on 7th January 1391, the number of chaplains, clerks, and sommeliers under Philip the Bold reached twenty. A twenty-first member, Henri le Fevre, was engaged as a sommelier the following week,⁴¹ and two more sommeliers, Gilles le Gras and Jean de Harlaville, were retained in 1393.⁴² Aside from these subalterns, there were eight other men appointed to the chapel of Philip the Bold between 1391 and 1395. All were retained in the post of chaplain and all were drawn from a single source: the papal court at Avignon.

27 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 200.

28 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 133. Marix (*Histoire*, p. 132) mistakenly says that Jacques was retained on 13th March 1384.

29 Clerval, *Ancienne Maîtrise*, pp. 158-159 and 292.

30 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 172.

31 Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 25.

32 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 131v.

33 For information on the schools of music in Paris at this time, see above p. 45.

34 ACO, B 1462, fol. 110 [CXI]; doc. 59.

35 ACO, B 1463, fol. 82v.

36 ACO, B 1465, fol. 102 [CII]; doc. 58.

37 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 278.

38 ACO, B 1469, fol. 25v [XXVv]; and Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 70v.

39 For more on the duties of the members of the chapel, see below pp. 70-72.

40 Aubré, *Mémoires*, II, 3.

41 ACO, B 1487, fol. 83v [LXXXVv].

42 Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 70v; and ACO, B 1500, fol. 36 [XXXVI].

During his forty-year reign as duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold journeyed to Avignon on four separate occasions (1371, 1376, 1391, and 1395). Each visit was motivated by diplomatic necessity. In 1376, for example, Philip was dispatched to Avignon by King Charles V to dissuade Pope Gregory XI from transferring the papacy back to Rome, as Gregory intended.⁴³ On these junkets, Philip and his entourage, including his musicians, would ride to Chalon (forty miles south of Dijon), hire a flotilla of boats, and then glide down the rivers Saône and Rhône in resplendent style. When they reached Avignon, Philip and his court resided at the magnificent castle of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon situated on a hillock immediately across the Rhône from the papal palace.

The papal chapel under the aegis of the art-loving Pope Clement VII (1378-1394) had grown to become the most renowned body of singers in Europe. In the last years of his pontificate, Clement VII's chapel comprised a *magister capellae*, thirteen chaplains, and two clerks and counted among its members some of the best composers of the age, including Jean François, Jean Symon called Hasprois, Jean Haucourt, and Jean de Bosco.⁴⁴ The high degree of vocal proficiency which the papal singers had undoubtedly attained by the time of Philip's visit in 1391 did not go unnoticed, for the impressionable duke of Burgundy determined to hire some of these men away from Avignon for his own chapel.

The first of the singers of the papal court to be enticed into Burgundian service while Philip was in Avignon was Jean Rogier called de Watignies (from the district of Wattignies, now part of Lille), who was engaged on Easter Sunday, 26th March 1391.⁴⁵ This was not the first time Jean de Watignies had been lured away from the papal court. In 1379, Philip's nephew, John, duke of Gironne (the future King John I of Aragón), had instructed his procurator, Ramón de Perellos, viscount of Roda, that seven singers from the court of Avignon be hired for his Aragonese court and that they bring with them a book of motets, rondeaux, ballades, and virelais.⁴⁶ One of the seven men retained was Jean de Watignies who in 1378 had been serving at Avignon in the chapel of the cardinal of Aragón (the future Pope Benedict XIII). Jean is still named as a member of John's chapel at Aragón in a clothing list dated 5th May 1384, but sometime between then and 1391 he returned to Avignon.⁴⁷ The engagement of Jean de Watignies at the court of Burgundy in 1391 did not bring an end to this singer's association with the papal chapel. On the contrary, between 1391 and 1404 Jean seems to have shuttled back and forth between the courts of Burgundy and Avignon. Though he passed most of his time during those

43 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 11-12.

44 See Ursula Günther's excellent study, «Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior,» pp. 180-187.

45 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 154v.

46 Günther, «Biographie,» p. 173.

47 Rubió y LLuch, *Documents*, II, 220, n. 1.

years as a chaplain and subalmoner of the duke of Burgundy, he nevertheless served as chaplain in the papal court for short periods in 1394, 1396, and 1403.⁴⁸ Indeed, Jean de Watignies typifies the extensive interchange of personnel between the papal and Burgundian chapels that took place at the end of the fourteenth century.

Six weeks after the retention of Jean de Watignies, two other singers of the Curia, Nicole Fessart and Eynart le Fevre, were taken into Burgundian service.⁴⁹ Eynart le Fevre, who came from the diocese of Rheims,⁵⁰ joined Tousains Prier and Jean Bakre as tenors of Philip's chapel.⁵¹ The day after their engagement Nicole and Eynart were given forty francs to purchase clothes and other necessities.⁵² Like Jean de Watignies and the other chaplains, the two singers each received annual pensions of forty francs in addition to their daily wages, which by 1391, had been raised to ten sous, eight deniers.

The death of Clement VII on 16th September 1394 afforded Philip the Bold the opportunity to acquire additional pontifical singers. Working through his procurator at the court of Avignon, Philip took into service Étienne Turquet,⁵³ Andrieu du Mor, Jean François, and Henri Schonherze⁵⁴ on 2nd November 1394.⁵⁵ On 13th November, the duke issued letters which referred to the four men as «jadis chapellains de nostre saint pere le Pape Clement dernièrement trespassé,» and provided that they be given three hundred francs to clothe themselves anew and buy horses to carry them from Avignon to northern France.⁵⁶ By 7th January 1395, the new chaplains had reached Paris and had joined the Burgundian court.⁵⁷

48 Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 187 and 192; and Tits-Dieuaide, *Lettres de Benoît XIII*, p. 28. We know that Jean de Watignies also journeyed to Avignon with Philip the Bold and his court in 1395, since an entry in the Burgundian account books mentions that the boat on which Jean was riding took on water and his ecclesiastical vestments were ruined (ACO, B 1503, fol. 101 [CI]). Jean de Watignies' close ties with the chapel of Benedict XIII (1394-1417) may have been partially due to the fact that Jean had been a chaplain of this prelate at Avignon in 1378, when the future pope was cardinal of Aragón and went by the name of Peter of Luna (Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, I, 45-46).

49 Nicole Fessart and Eynart le Fevre were retained on 2nd May 1391 (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 58v).

50 In 1397, Eynart le Fevre is listed as «clericus diocesis Remensis» (Foppens, *Compendium*, p. 116) and in the Burgundian documents is sometimes called «Ayniart de Rains» (ACO, B 1487, fol. 84; doc. 82).

51 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 26.

52 ACO, B 1487, fol. 84; doc. 82.

53 Étienne Turquet was first paid as a member of the chapel of Clement VII in the summer of 1381 (Günther, «Biographie,» p. 182, n. 63). He was still living in July 1418 (ACO, B 1601, fol. 108v [CXVv]).

54 In 1378, Henri Schonherze is listed at Avignon as a chaplain in the private chapel of the cardinal of Pamplona (Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, II, 47-48). Henri was received as a scribe in the Curia on 5th September 1382 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 465) and by 8th April 1389 had been appointed papal chaplain (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, II, p. 649).

55 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 61v.

56 ACO, B 1501, fol. 89v [IIIIxxIXv]; doc. 100.

57 ACO, B 1501, fol. 49 [XLIX].

Regnault du Houx, the eighth and last chaplain Philip drew from the court of Avignon, was hired for the Burgundian chapel when the duke was in Avignon in May and June of 1395.⁵⁸ The letters of retention for Regnault, written at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon on 6th June, describe him as having been «long temps chapelain du Pape Climent.»⁵⁹

Of the eight chaplains who transferred directly from the court of Avignon to the court of Burgundy during the early 1390's one, Jean François, is of special importance. The Jean François who was hired by the duke of Burgundy in November 1394 was undoubtedly the composer Jean François whose works are preserved in several early fifteenth-century manuscripts.⁶⁰ Identification of the composer Jean François, who in the Bologna Q 15 MS is called «Johannes Francois de Gemblaco,»⁶¹ with the singer of that name at Avignon and Burgundy comes from a papal supplication of 1378 in which the singer is described as a «clerico Leodiensis diocesis.» (Gembloux, near Namur, lies within the diocese of Liège.) The document of 1378 tells us that Jean François was in Avignon in that year as a member of the chapel of the archbishop of Rouen and asked to be provided with a benefice in the diocese of Liège in addition to the chaplainry he already held in the collegiate church of Notre Dame in Walcourt, twenty miles south of Gembloux.⁶² In 1384, he is listed as the «cantor» of the church of St. Denis in Liège and may have been an associate of Johannes Ciconia, who at that time was a canon in the nearby collegiate church of St. Jean l'Évangéliste.⁶³ Although it is difficult to determine when François entered the chapel of Pope Clement VII, since no list of papal singers for the years 1386-1391 has survived,⁶⁴ he certainly was the «Franciscus» named among the fourteen chaplains and two clerks who formed the papal chapel on 1st November 1393.⁶⁵ During the 1390's, Jean held canonicates and chaplainries at various churches in Liège, Rouen, Lisieux, Paris, and Évreux. He is listed as absent from the church of St. Denis in Liège in 1397, undoubtedly because he was residing at the court of Burgundy.⁶⁶ When his decade of

service to Philip the Bold ended with the death of Philip in 1404, Jean withdrew to Évreux to live from the income of the prebend he held in the cathedral of that town.⁶⁷ By 1414, he had returned to Paris to sing in the chapel of the music-loving dauphin, Louis of Guienne, and he remained in the service of this young prince until the dauphin's premature death in December 1415.⁶⁸ In dating the years of Jean François' professional activity between 1378 and 1415, it becomes apparent that this composer was not a contemporary of Hugo de Lantins and Guillaume Dufay, as is generally thought,⁶⁹ but instead belonged to the previous generation of Ciconia and Tapissier.

Like Jean François, the other singers hired by Philip the Bold from the court of Avignon came from the area of northern France and the Low Countries, not from the environs of Avignon, southern France, or Italy. We have had occasion to mention that Eynart le Fevre was from the city of Rheims and that Jean de Watignies came from Lille.⁷⁰ The latter chaplain bought a house in Paris in 1398⁷¹ and then in 1401 purchased a second domicile in Amiens.⁷² Étienne Turquet, who had been connected with the town of Senlis since at least 1381,⁷³ was residing in nearby Beauvais by 1403.⁷⁴ Henri Schonherze, like Jean François, came from the diocese of Liège. In a papal document of 1382, Henri is listed as a «clerico Leodiensis diocesis»⁷⁵ and later in the Burgundian records is called «Henry le Liegeois.»⁷⁶ Regnault du Houx came from Meaux,⁷⁷ while Nicole Fessart and Andrieu du Mor were tied to northern France and Flanders by the ecclesiastical benefices they held in those territories.⁷⁸

67 ACO, B 1571, fol. 155v.

68 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1132.

69 See, for example, Borren, *Études*, p. 49.

70 See above pp. 62-63.

71 ACO, B 1517, fol. 133v [VIxxXIIIv]; doc. 114.

72 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 154v.

73 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 134.

74 ACO, B 1538, fol. 214v [CCXIIv].

75 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 465.

76 ACO, B 1503, fol. 147 [VIIxxVII].

77 Günther, «Biographie,» p. 193.

78 While it is sometimes risky to attempt to determine place of origin or residence on the basis of the area in which a chaplain held his prebends, on the whole, benefices tended to be assigned in or near the region from which a chaplain came (see Schuler, «Kapelle Papst Martins V,» pp. 33-34).

The fact that several of the papal singers can be shown to have come from northern France and Flanders argues against the putative notion that «Between 1389 and 1409, the Papal Choir had been manned almost entirely by musicians from Liège» (Reese, *Renaissance*, p. 31; see also Borren, *Études*, p. 18).

58 Philip went to Avignon in May 1395 in a vain attempt to persuade Benedict XIII to abdicate and thereby facilitate an end to the Schism (Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 46-47).

59 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 72; doc. 103; see also ACO, B 1503, fol. 102 [CII]; doc. 104. The papal documents show that Regnault had been a chaplain of Clement VII since at least 13th May 1391 (Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 186-187).

60 For a list of the compositions attributed to Jean François and the sources in which they appear, see Appendix A.

61 Bologna Q 15, fol. 134v.

62 Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, I, 509.

63 Archives de l'État à Liège, *Saint Denis*, R. 165, fol. 54v; cited in Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, I, 140.

64 Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 185-186.

65 Günther, «Biographie,» p. 186.

66 Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, I, 140.

The practice of granting ecclesiastical benefices to chapel singers was well established by the end of the fourteenth century. Prelates and secular princes usually had collation to a number of benefices within their lands which they would distribute to deserving court officials. Each benefice included an annual stipend to which the incumbent was entitled. Although the amount of the income varied from office to office and from church to church, a prebend in a cathedral church would often bring forty or fifty francs a year to the holder. Many benefices were conferred *in commendam*, a dispensational arrangement whereby the recipient enjoyed the revenues accruing to his prebend but neither resided at the church nor administered to the congregation. Such sinecures were usually assigned to chapel singers because they freed the singers to serve and travel with their lord. Philip the Bold apparently sought and received a dispensation of this sort from Pope Clement VII in 1386 when he sent a clerk of his chapel, Nicole de Hamencourt, to Avignon to receive certain bulls «pour la prevision des chappellains et clerks de la chappelle.»⁷⁹ As long as they were in the service of Philip the Bold, the chapel members resided at the court of Burgundy, not in the parishes of the various churches at which they were beneficed.

It was mentioned above that Philip's father-in-law, Louis of Male, had collation to many benefices in Flanders which he bestowed on his singers.⁸⁰ In 1363, Louis appointed Toussains Prier to the chaplainry of the castle of Ruppelmonde (twenty-five miles east of Ghent),⁸¹ and in 1368 Toussains was received as chaplain in the chapels of the count's hotels in Blaton (fifteen miles southeast of Tournai)⁸² and Bruges.⁸³ Prior to May 1368, he had also held a chaplainry at the parochial church of Wingard in Bruges.⁸⁴ In 1382, Jean Grosseteste was rewarded with a canonicate at St. Pharaïlde in Ghent which the count of Flanders had the hereditary right to confer.⁸⁵ Similarly, on 25th May 1383, Jean de Hamencourt received a prebend at the cathedral of Termonde which had been relinquished by Henri Potage, another of Louis' clerks.⁸⁶ That same day Henri Potage was assigned a new benefice, this one in the chapel of the count's castle in Bapaume.⁸⁷ The right to confer benefices, or, more correctly, to have their proposals ratified by the pope, was a prerogative jealously guarded by princes such as the count of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy, because every franc the chaplains and clerks received from their benefices was one less franc the lords had to pay from their treasuries to support them.

79 ACO, B 1465, fol. 87 [IIIIxxVII]; doc. 61.
 80 See above p. 22.
 81 AN, B 1573, fol. 5v [IIIIv].
 82 AN, B 1567, fol. 4.
 83 *Inventaire sommaire.... du Nord*, II, 48.
 84 AN, B 1567, fol. 4.
 85 AN, B 1567, fol. 138.
 86 AN, B 1567, fol. 139v.
 87 AN, B 1567, fol. 144v.

Naturally, the popes had a wealth of benefices with which to reward the members of the Curia. As early as 1378, Jean de Watignies asked for a canonicate at the cathedral of Laon in addition to the prebend he already possessed at St. Symphorien in Rheims and the chaplainry he held in the parochial church of Enghien (twenty-five miles east of Lille).⁸⁸ Henri Schonherze likewise supplicated for a benefice in 1378, his being a canonicate at the collegiate church of St. Jean l'Évangéliste in Liège.⁸⁹ In 1389, he was appointed to a chaplainry in the parochial church of Bourneville (diocese of Rouen)⁹⁰ and in 1392 to a canonicate at St. Géry in Cambrai.⁹¹ Étienne Turquet was granted a prebend at the cathedral of Senlis in 1381⁹² and Nicole Fessart assigned a cure in Etrun (four miles north of Cambrai) by 1389⁹³ and a chaplainry at St. Vaast (four miles east of Mons) by 1391.⁹⁴ The composer Jean François petitioned for a benefice in the diocese of Liège in 1378, at a time he was enjoying a chaplainry in the church of Notre Dame in Walcourt.⁹⁵ By 1394, he had received a canonicate at the cathedral of Lisieux,⁹⁶ as well as a chaplainry in the cathedral of Rouen. The latter benefice he resigned in 1394 in favor of a canonicate at the cathedral of Évreux, and his place at Rouen was taken by another composer, Jean Haucourt.⁹⁷ Sometime before 1400, both Jean François and Jean Haucourt were appointed canons and prebendaries at Ste. Opportune in Paris, a church dependent of St. Germain l'Auxerrois; but early in that year the men resigned their posts, François relinquishing his on 6th March and Haucourt his on 8th April.⁹⁸ Jean François continued to hold his canonicate in the cathedral of Évreux until at least May of 1412.⁹⁹

When Philip the Bold began installing chaplains and clerks in his chapel in 1384, he accordingly assumed responsibility for providing them with church benefices. As count of Flanders and duke of Burgundy, Philip had the hereditary right to make appointments in many churches throughout his domain. In addition to this collation, the popes of Avignon conceded to Philip the Bold the

88 Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, I, 45-46.
 89 Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, II, 47.
 90 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 649.
 91 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 741.
 92 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 134.
 93 Berlière, *Collectories*, p. 352.
 94 Berlière, *Collectories*, p. 550.
 95 Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, I, 509.
 96 ACO, B 1514, fol. 129v [VIxxVIIIv].
 97 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 783.
 98 Archives nationales, LL 393, fols. XXXIIIv and XXXIIIv. The Johannes de Bosco who also is listed as a servant of St. Germain l'Auxerrois in 1400 may have been the composer Jean de Bosco. Jean François, Jean Haucourt, and Jean de Bosco all had been singers in the chapel of Pope Clement VII early in the 1390's (see Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 186-187).
 99 ACO, B 1571, fol. 155v [VIIxxXVIv].

right to dispose of a number of other benefices. For example, when Philip was in Avignon in April of 1391, Pope Clement VII empowered him to confer one benefice in each of the cathedral and collegiate churches of Flanders on one of his chaplains or chapel clerks, and permitted him also to appoint to one hundred and twenty benefices both in and outside France.¹⁰⁰ Within the boundaries of France, Philip saw to it that his chaplains enjoyed benefices in the cities of Amiens,¹⁰¹ Laon,¹⁰² Évreux,¹⁰³ Beauvais,¹⁰⁴ and Paris.¹⁰⁵ In his own lands, the ducal singers were provided with canonicates and chaplainries in Béthune,¹⁰⁶ Hesdin,¹⁰⁷ St. Omer,¹⁰⁸ Seclin,¹⁰⁹ Sempy,¹¹⁰ Termonde,¹¹¹ Arras,¹¹²

100 Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 107; cited in Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 186.

101 Jean de Hamencourt was appointed canon of the cathedral of Amiens sometime before October 1395 (Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 43). Jean de Watignies was named canon of the same cathedral in 1394 (Foppens, *Compendium*, p. 107) and two years later received a prebend at St. Nicolas in Claustro in Amiens (Tits-Dieuaide, *Lettres de Benoît XIII*, p. 34).

102 Symon le Corier is listed as a canon and prebendary of the cathedral of Laon in 1389 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 651).

103 In 1394, Jean François exchanged a chaplainry in the cathedral of Rouen for a canonicate and prebend at the cathedral of Évreux (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 783).

104 Étienne Turquet was in the process of acquiring a canonicate in the cathedral of Beauvais in 1397 (ACO, B 1514, fol. 160 [VIIxxXVII]). He had obtained this benefice by at least 1403 (ACO, B 1538, fol. 214v [CCXIIv]).

105 Jean François was received as a canon of Ste. Opportune in Paris before 1400 (Archives nationales, LL 393, fol. XXXIIv). Guillaume Moreau is listed as a chaplain at the Sainte Chapelle in 1385 (Brenet, *Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 22), and Jean de Chartres appears as a canon of the same church between 1397 and 1400 (Archives nationales, LL 619, fols. LI, LIX, and LXIII). Jean de Chartres was also appointed to a canonicate in the cathedral of Cambrai with expectation of a prebend on 1st January 1392 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 720).

106 Jean de Hamencourt held a canonicate at the church of St. Betremiu in Béthune (Prost, *Inventaires*, II, 505, n. 4).

107 Toussains Prier is listed as a canon and prebendary of St. Martin in Hesdin before 1390 (Berlière, *Collectories*, p. 459).

108 Symon le Corier is listed as a prebendary of the church of St. Omer and of the abbey of St. Bertin in St. Omer in 1389 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 651). Toussains Prier was provided with a canonicate and prebend in the church of St. Omer on 19th March 1390 (Nelis, p. 673).

109 Symon le Corier is listed as a canon of St. Piat in Seclin at the time of his death in 1393. His canonicate was then taken by Jean Haucourt (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 763). The following year, Jean Ondanch is listed as a member of the chapter of the same church (Foppens, *Compendium*, p. 172).

110 Nicole de Hamencourt was a chaplain in the parochial church of Sempy by 1400 (AN, B 1868, No. 52381).

111 Jean Grosseteste appears as a canon of the church of Notre Dame in Termonde in 1392 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 730) and Jean Ondanch is listed as a chaplain of the same church in 1403 (Tits-Dieuaide, *Lettres de Benoît XIII*, p. 89).

112 Nicole Fessart received a prebend at the cathedral of Arras in 1401 (ACO, B 1532, fol. 212v [CCXIIv]).

Lille,¹¹³ Tournai,¹¹⁴ Ghent,¹¹⁵ and Bruges.¹¹⁶ The chapters of collegiate churches such as St. Pierre in Lille and St. Donatien in Bruges were particularly susceptible to Philip's influence. At St. Donatien, for instance, Nicole Fessart, Jean Ondanch, Jean de Watignies, and Eynart le Fevre were prebendaries during the last decade of Philip's reign.¹¹⁷ Not surprisingly, the duke's extensive collation resulted in the most egregious sort of clerical pluralism. To cite one example: Jean Ondanch in 1403 was a chaplain of St. Piat in Seclin, of the church of Notre Dame in Termonde, of St. Pierre in Lille, and of the parochial church of Hekelgem in the diocese of Cambrai, and a canon of St. Donatien in Bruges.¹¹⁸

Besides ensuring that the personnel of his chapel was provided with church offices, Philip the Bold helped his men defray the expenses they incurred in securing these posts. In 1387, for example, the monk Robert Souvent was given thirty francs «to aid him in acquiring the bulls of a certain benefice that our holy father the pope has given him.»¹¹⁹ Likewise, Étienne Turquet received one hundred francs from the duke in 1397 because he had pleaded «in the court of Rome [Avignon] for the prebend of Beauvais,»¹²⁰ and Nicole Fessart received forty *écus* in 1401 to help him pay for the reception of a prebend in the cathedral of Arras.¹²¹ In one instance, Philip even recompensed a chaplain for the income of a prebend he had lost. This was the case in 1398 when Jean François was given one hundred francs in lieu of the two years of revenue he would have received from a prebend in the cathedral of Lisieux which he had

113 Jean Grosseteste was named chaplain of the «maison des Malades» in Lille on 11th May 1392 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 730), at which time he is also listed as a canon of the collegiate church of St. Pierre in Lille. Jean Ondanch was a chaplain and Guillaume Moreau a canon at St. Pierre by 1403 and 1404, respectively (Tits-Dieuaide, *Lettres de Benoît XIII*, p. 89; and AN, 16 G 1429).

114 Jean Grosseteste is listed as a canon of the cathedral of Tournai in 1392 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 730) as is Toussains Prier in 1404 (AN, B 1600, fol. 65v [LVv]).

115 Jean Grosseteste was appointed canon and prebendary of St. Pharailde in Ghent in 1382 (AN, B 1567, fol. 138).

116 In April 1390, Jean Ondanch is listed as a chaplain at St. Basel in Bruges (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 674) and in 1394 as canon of the church of Notre Dame in the same town (Foppens, *Compendium*, p. 172). Jean Ondanch (1394), Jean de Watignies (1394), Nicole Fessart (1396), and Eynart le Fevre (1397) possessed canonicates at St. Donatien in Bruges (Foppens, *Compendium*, pp. 107, 116, 172, and 175).

117 See n. 116.

118 Tits-Dieuaide, *Lettres de Benoît XIII*, p. 89.

119 ACO, B 1495, fol. 47v [XLVIIv]; doc. 65. The benefice in question was apparently the priorate of the Augustinian priory of Grez (south of Paris, near Fontainebleau), since after this date Robert is referred to as «Prieur de Grez».

120 ACO, B 1511, fol. 160 [VIIxxXVII].

121 ACO, B 1532, fol. 216v [CCXVIv].

been forced to resign when he left the papal chapel to take a position at Burgundy.¹²² From this we can assume that the prebend of Lisieux had paid Jean François fifty francs annually. Obviously, a chaplain or clerk who possessed four or five such prebends had a yearly income of at least two hundred francs, exclusive of what he received from the duke.

* * * * *

The labors of the chaplains and clerks of the chapel of Burgundy revolved around the performance of the divine service. In the Middle Ages, religion and religious observance were far more intrinsic to, and pervasive in, the day-to-day activities of the people than they are today. But even by the standards of his devout contemporaries, Philip the Bold was a religious man—though perhaps no more so than his brothers King Charles V and the dukes of Anjou and Berry.¹²³ Like his brothers, Philip would attend mass in his chapel daily, and on special feast days he would hear the canonical hours as well.¹²⁴ It was the responsibility of the chaplains and clerks to sing each day «mass, vespers, and the lesser hours,» even if the duke was not in attendance.¹²⁵ Jean Le Laboureur tells us that at the chapel of Philip the Bold, «They celebrated [the divine service] in a royal fashion with great assiduity in the ducal house both during the day and at night.»¹²⁶ Although no detailed description of the liturgical practice of the chapel appears to have survived, the ritual which was followed must have been similar to the one Philip prescribed in 1381 for the six resident chaplains of his castle of Bapaume: the men were to celebrate «in a high service with notes each day, all the canonical hours: matins, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline; in the morning a low mass and then the solemn high mass with notes; and each Sunday after vespers, vigils of the dead in nine lessons with notes.»¹²⁷ Presumably, the chapel of the court of Burgundy followed a like format, though this rigid regimen was probably relaxed when the court was in transit.

122 ACO, B 1514, fol. 129v [VIxxVIIIv]; doc. 115.

123 Often Philip would sit alone in his oratory and read from the scriptures (Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 194 and 197). The eyeglasses the singer Jean Haussant provided for him in 1400 were apparently for this purpose (ACO, B 1519, fol. 58v [LVIIIv]).

124 Peignot, *Catalogue*, p. 55.

125 Bibl. nat., CB 106, fol. 191: Les chapelains chantaient tous les jours messe, vespres et les petits heures.

126 Le Laboureur, *Histoire*, I, 484: On celebrait avec grande assiduité [le service divin] tant de jour que de nuit, à la Royale, dans sa Maison.

127 Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 5: haut et à notte chacun jour toutes les heures canoniaux: matins, prime, tierce, midy, none, vespres, et complies; au matin une basse messe et puis la grande, haute messe à note; et chascun dimenche apres vespres, vigiles de morts à neuf leçons à notes.

The mass and canonical hours were usually sung before the duke of Burgundy in the chapel of the hotel in which he happened to be residing. When in Paris, Philip customarily stayed at his hôtel d'Artois, so that when the ducal singers were in the capital, they most often performed in the chapel of that hotel. In Dijon, the ducal palace included two chapels: the Sainte Chapelle, which was attended by a resident college of chaplains, and a smaller chapel in which the «domestique» or court chaplains and clerks sang. The chapels of the principal ducal abodes such as the hôtel d'Artois, the hôtel de Conflans outside of Paris, and the palace of Dijon were supplied with a positive organ and a small number of service books.

By the time of his death in 1404, Philip the Bold had amassed for his chapel an extensive collection of ecclesiastical furnishings, including altars, drapes, sacerdotal robes, crosses, statues, reliquaries, aspergillums, censers, service books, and other ceremonial accoutrements.¹²⁸ When the court was in transit, most of the ornaments and books were packed into chests and transported on wagons in the ducal cavalcade. The labor of packing and shipping the coffers was done by the sommeliers and valets of the chapel, though their work was usually supervised by a clerk, a chaplain, or sometimes by the first chaplain himself.¹²⁹ The portability of these items made it possible to erect a chapel and sing the service even when the duke was lodged in a small inn or camped on the side of the road. Since Philip the Bold believed his spiritual well-being to be at least partially dependent on his daily observance of the liturgy, he naturally required that the furnishings and singers of his chapel be continually near his person.¹³⁰ The only periods during which the chaplains and clerks were not at the duke's side were when Philip went hunting; the chapel members simply could not keep up with the pace of the chase.

Besides performing the divine service before the itinerant duke of Burgundy, the Burgundian chaplains and clerks were delegated a few paraliturgical chores: they were required to assure that the chapel was supplied with candles, incense, wine, and unconsecrated wafers; they made offerings in the name of the duke; and they paid for services rendered in other chapels and churches when even Philip had forgotten his purse. In 1396, for example, Jean Haussant

128 An inventory of the ornaments and books of the chapel of Philip the Bold was made after his death and is printed in Picard, *Dévotion*, pp. 77-105.

129 When Philip journeyed to Avignon in 1391, for example, Jean de Chartres had in his charge two valets and two horses who «mené les coffres de la chappelle» from Dijon to Lyon whence the chests were shipped to Avignon by boat (ACO, B 1487, fol. 96v [IIIxxXVIIIv]; doc. 80). In 1396, when the duke travelled to St. Omer and then Calais for the wedding of Richard II and Isabel of France (see above pp. 42-43), his chaplain, Nicole de Hamencourt, was instructed to bring the chapel jewels and ornaments from Dijon to Hesdin, near St. Omer. The coffers were placed on two wagons each drawn by six horses and led by a valet on horseback. Nicole assigned two other valets to guard the wagons at night during the thirteen-day trip (ACO, B 1514, fol. 271v [IIcLXIXv]).

130 ACO, B 1519, fol. 63 [LXII].

made an offering of five francs, twelve sous, six deniers, for Philip in the church of St. Omer in St. Omer, when Philip was on his way to meet Richard II in Calais; ¹³¹ and two years later he paid nine francs to the vicars of St. Pierre in Lille who had performed a play before the duke («joué de jeux de perçonnaiges devant lui»). ¹³² As to nonliturgical tasks, these were limited mainly to conducting new personnel to the court and delivering letters. ¹³³

* * * * *

During the last decade of the fourteenth century, the chapel of Philip the Bold grew until it surpassed in size and splendor all other chapels in France. Between 1390 and 1395, eight men who had been members of the original Burgundian chapel in 1384 left the group and were replaced by singers taken from the papal court at Avignon. ¹³⁴ In addition to the eight replacements

131 ACO, B 1511, fol. 64 [LXIII].

132 ACO, B 1514, fol. 282v [IICIIIxxv].

133 In July 1394, Jean Haussant was ordered to carry letters throughout Flanders concerning the aide Philip had levied to pay for the crusade of Nicopolis (ACO, B 1501, fol. 69v [LXIXv]; see also Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 63).

134 The eight men who were retired from the chapel between 1390 and 1395 were Symon le Corier, Henri Potage, Jean Grosseteste, Toussains Prier, Guillaume Moreau, Jean Martin, Jean Abidon, and Jean d'Ambrun.

Symon le Corier had died by 22nd April 1393 (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 763).

Henri Potage served as «familier» to the duke until at least 1399 (AN, B 1867, Nos. 52274 and 52275), but after 1391 is no longer listed as a member of the chapel.

Jean Grosseteste retired to Flanders to live from the benefices he held in Lille and nearby Tournai (see above p. 69). In 1412, he was still receiving income from the chaplainry he held in the maison des Malades in Lille (AN, B 1899, No. 35389).

Toussains Prier likewise returned to Flanders, presumably to Tournai where he was a canon in the cathedral of Notre Dame (see above p. 69). In 1404, Duke John the Fearless waived the established antimortmain statutes and allowed Toussains to endow the cathedral of Tournai with an annual rent of ten *écus* to establish perpetual masses for the souls of Louis of Male, Philip the Bold, Margaret of Flanders, and Toussains himself. A quittance dated 29th July 1408, which refers to Toussains as living in the present, states that the endowment had been raised from the sale of property owned by Toussains in Flanders and was being held by ducal officers until his death, at which time the money would be given to the chapter of the cathedral (AN, B 1600, fol. 65v [LXv]).

Guillaume Moreau, who had served as both chaplain and subalmoner to the duke in 1393, retired from the Burgundian chapel in 1394. Guillaume withdrew to Lille to live from the income of the prebend he held at St. Pierre. In 1404, he was assigned to compile a register of this church (the volume is preserved in the departmental archives in Lille, AN, 16 G 1429, 1404). In 1412, Guillaume is listed as curé of St. Étienne in Lille (AN, B 1900, No. 53900), though he resigned this benefice in 1422 (Baix, *Chambre apostolique*, I, 41). Duke Philip the Good granted Guillaume an exemption from the antimortmain statutes in November 1422 to enable him to endow the chapel of St.

drawn from Avignon, a number of new subalterns were hired. Pierre Quiquette (1394), ¹³⁵ Thevenin Hardy (1397), Gillot du Moulin (1397), Nicole le Forestier (1398), Jean de Lachenel called Boulogne (1399), Vincent Colas (1401), Jean Boucher (1402), and the young Pierre Fontaine (1403) ¹³⁶ were retained as clerks or *sommeliers* by Philip in his last decade. At least two of these men, Vincent Colas and Nicole (or Colinet) le Forestier, were experienced professional singers.

Prior to his entry in the chapel of Burgundy, Vincent Colas had been a member of the court of Martin I, king of Aragón. He is listed among the ranks of the Aragonese chapel from at least 1398 until 1400, ¹³⁷ and by August of 1400 he had joined the court of Burgundy. ¹³⁸ Since the personnel of the chapel of Aragón in these years was drawn almost exclusively from the papal Curia, ¹³⁹ Vincent Colas may also have been in service in Avignon; later his presence at the cathedral of Soissons can be documented. ¹⁴⁰ Colinet le Forestier had likewise served several masters. Between 1392 and 1396, he was a singer in the chapel of John I of Aragón; previous to that he had sung at the court of the

Thomas of Canterbury in the church of St. Pierre with enough revenue to produce an annual income of twelve *livres* which were to be used to celebrate masses each year and to buy corn for the poor. To finance this endowment, Guillaume donated to St. Pierre a house that he owned, situated on the «rue des Vieux-Murs» in Lille, and the income to which he was entitled from the taxes raised in the nearby town of Deulémont. The letters of exemption issued by Philip the Good mention that Guillaume, in addition to being a canon at St. Pierre, was also a canon of the churches of Notre Dame in Lille and Courtrai (AN, 16 G 103, No. 1116; printed in Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire*, II, 920-921; see also Hautcoeur, *Documents*, p. 282). The will of Guillaume Moreau was notarized on 12th August 1428, and on that date he was living in the cloister of St. Pierre (AN, 16 G 68, No. 675; the will is partially printed in Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire*, II, 944-945).

Jean Martin is last listed at the court of Burgundy in September 1394 (Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 96v). He evidently was the Jean Martin who appears at the court of King Martin I of Aragón in 1398 and served at Aragón until 1420 (Anglès, «Gacian Reyneau,» p. 65; and Anglès, «Música en la corte del Rey Alfonso V, el Magnánimo (1413-1420),» p. 380). In 1404, Jean Martin supplicated for a benefice in Barcelona to be held in addition to the prebend he already possessed at the church of Ste. Katherine in Valencia (Anglès, «Gacian Reyneau,» p. 67). He had apparently said his first mass, with the duke and duchess of Burgundy in attendance, in Beaune in 1391 (ACO, B 1487, fol. 22 [XXIII]; doc. 88).

135 Pierre Quiquette is sometimes called Jean Quiquette.

136 Pierre Fontaine had joined the Burgundian chapel by 25th May 1403, since on this day he was given twenty francs «pour avoir de la robe un jupon, chausses, robes, linges et autres necessitez» (ACO, B 1532, fol. 226 [XIxxVI]; doc. 128; and Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 211). He must have been quite young at this time because in 1404 he is described as «le petit Perrinet» (ACO, B 1538, fol. 67 [LXVII]). Marix (*Histoire*, p. 134) mistakenly says that Pierre entered the chapel in 1404.

137 Anglès, «Gacian Reyneau,» pp. 65-66.

138 ACO, B 1526, fol. 142 [VIIxxXIII].

139 See Anglès, *Historia*, pp. 252 and 257; and Anglès, «Música sagrada.»

140 ACO, B 1558, fol. 44v [XLVIv]. See below p. 85.

illustrious Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix.¹⁴¹ By August 1396, Colinet had left Aragón to join the court of Charles III, king of Navarre.¹⁴² On 1st October of that same year, he was dispatched to Avignon to engage additional singers for the chapel of Charles III, which at that time numbered fewer than half a dozen members.¹⁴³ When Charles of Navarre and his chapel visited Paris in 1397-1398, Colinet le Forestier was lured away to the court of Burgundy and was formally registered as a clerk of Philip's chapel on 12th August 1398.¹⁴⁴ After Colinet's death, on 25th January 1404,¹⁴⁵ a book of «motets e de bal-lades,» which he had left behind in Aragón at the monastery of Poblet, became the property of the former Burgundian singer Jean Martin and the composer Gacian Reyneau, both of whom were still serving in the Aragonese chapel of King Martin I.¹⁴⁶

In the spring of 1399, Philip the Bold was forced to select a new first chaplain for his chapel. Jean de Chartres, who had served Philip and Kings Charles V and VI during «l'espace de 40 ans,» had asked to be relieved of his position because of advanced age and infirmities.¹⁴⁷ Jean du Moloy was chosen as his replacement and formally retained on 4th April 1399.¹⁴⁸ Like Jean de Chartres, Jean du Moloy came from Chartres and, at the time of his engagement at the Burgundian court, was serving as «chantre» in the cathedral of Notre Dame of Chartres. When he joined the chapel of Burgundy, he was given two hundred francs to buy a horse, two riding outfits, and other necessities¹⁴⁹ and paid a wage of one and a half francs per day.¹⁵⁰ However, Jean du Moloy's tenure as first chaplain lasted less than a year; by March 1400 he had returned to Chartres and had been replaced by Jacques de Templeuve.¹⁵¹

Before he was appointed first chaplain on 16th March 1400, Jacques de Templeuve had been a member of the court of Burgundy for fifteen years.¹⁵² He had begun his career at Burgundy in March 1385 as a clerk of the chapel, was elevated to chaplain on 1st May 1391, and sometime before 1394 was named

141 Anglès, «Cantors i organistes franco-flamencs,» p. 56.

142 Anglès, *Historia*, p. 252.

143 Anglès, *Historia*, pp. 253-254.

144 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 61.

145 ACO, B 1538, fol. 66 [LXVI]; doc. 131.

146 Anglès, «Gacian Reyneau,» pp. 69-70.

147 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 90v; doc. 119.

148 ACO, B 1517, fols. 49v-50 [XLVIIIv-L].

149 ACO, B 1517, fol. 132v [VIxxXIIv].

150 ACO, B 1517, fols. 49v-50 [XLVIIIv-L].

151 Jean du Moloy was again retained as chaplain (but not first chaplain) on 20th February 1401. He was to come from Chartres to sing with the chapel of Burgundy on the days of the «bonnes festes» (ACO, B 1532, fol. 85 [IIIxxV]). He was provided with a livery worth seventy-four francs and was paid a wage of a franc and a half for the days that he served (ACO, B 1532, fol. 85v [IIIxxVv]).

152 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 133.

secretary to the duke as well as chaplain.¹⁵³ Like his two predecessors, Jacques de Templeuve had strong ties with Chartres, having been reared as an «enfant de choeur» in the cathedral of that town.¹⁵⁴ Jacques belonged to the household of Philip the Bold until the duke's death in 1404 and later served his son John the Fearless and his grandson Philip the Good. Like the other first chaplains before him, Jacques de Templeuve occupied a unique position in the Burgundian chapel and court.

Jean de Chartres, Jean du Moloy, and Jacques de Templeuve were successively appointed as first chaplain at the court of Burgundy because they were judged to be excellent administrators. Although the first chaplain had to have some knowledge of music,¹⁵⁵ his job above all else demanded organizational skill. The first chaplain supervised the personnel of the chapel, ordered and distributed the annual livery of the men, and gave certificate to the ducal treasurers of the number of days each chapel member served and the amount each man should be paid. The charge of the first chaplain also extended to the furnishings of the chapel—jewels, ornaments, reliques, tapestries, books, and so on. It was his duty to purchase new materials for the chapel and to maintain and repair the old.¹⁵⁶ With regard to books, for example, Jean de Chartres paid to have a breviary of the chapel rebound and recovered in 1386, saw to the purchase and illumination of a missal and a breviary in 1391, and bought two missals «à chanter messe» in 1396.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, in 1403, Jacques de Templeuve paid the composer Jean Carmen two francs «for having notated in the book of notes of the chapel of said lord certain hymns... newly made.»¹⁵⁸ The first chaplain was also responsible for the linen of the chapel being washed and pressed, and for the chapel drapes being selected and hung in accordance with the liturgical season.¹⁵⁹ Although the first chaplain may have occasionally sung the divine service with the other members of the chapel, none of the more than

153 ACO, B 1467, fol. 19v [XIXv]; and Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 133. Jacques was paid a wage of three francs per day when he doubled as chaplain and secretary to the duke (ACO, B 1511, fol. 29 [XXVIII]).

154 Clerval, *Ancienne Maîtrise*, pp. 158-159.

155 Jacques de Templeuve, for instance, had received musical training as an «enfant de choeur» at Chartres (Clerval, *Ancienne Maîtrise*, pp. 158-159). In 1413, he was called upon to judge the talents of several prospective singers for the cathedral of Chartres (Pirro, «Gilles Mureau,» p. 163).

156 In 1396, for example, Jean de Chartres requisitioned candles and torches for the chapel (ACO, B 356, liasse, no folio) and purchased new chests to house the ornaments (ACO, B 1532, fol. 159v [VIxxXIXv]).

157 ACO, B 1465, fol. 123v [VIxxIIIv]; ACO, B 1487, fol. 94 [IIIxxXVI]; and ACO, B 1500, fol. 135 [VIxxXIII].

158 ACO, B 1532, fol. 374 [XVIIIxxXIII]; doc. 130.

159 ACO, B 1517, fol. 81v [IIIxxIV]; and ACO, B 1532, fols. 127v [VIxxVIIv] and 374 [XVIIIxxXIII].

one hundred references in the Burgundian ledgers to Jean de Chartres, Jean du Moloy, and Jacques de Templeuve alludes to their involvement in purely musical activities: to be the first chaplain required administrative—not musical—talents.

Clearly, the position of first chaplain at the court of Burgundy was one of trust. On several occasions, Jean de Chartres and Jacques de Templeuve were charged to deliver large sums of money to churches and charitable organisations,¹⁶⁰ and to execute secret diplomatic missions for the duke.¹⁶¹ The jewels and silver of the chapel were placed in the custody of the first chaplain, and he was periodically asked to inventory those treasures and ascertain their value.¹⁶² Such trust inevitably engendered close personal ties between the first chaplain and the duke, a relationship which worked to the financial advantage of the chaplain. In 1404, for example, Jacques de Templeuve and Philip the Bold exchanged New Year's gifts (*étrennes*): Jacques gave the duke a silver spoon and received in return three hundred francs.¹⁶³ On New Year's Day, 1401, Jacques was presented with one hundred francs to buy silver for his private table.¹⁶⁴ Both Jean de Chartres and Jacques de Templeuve were provided with hotels at the expense of the duke; Jean's was situated within the royal palace on the Île de la Cité¹⁶⁵ and Jacques' within the hôtel d'Artois near the Marais.¹⁶⁶ Several times in 1398 and 1399, Philip the Bold dined in the hotel of Jean de Chartres, and on 20th March 1399, he was joined at Jean's table by John, duke of Berry, and «plusieurs autres seigneurs.»¹⁶⁷ Indeed, the first chaplain served the duke of Burgundy more as a counsellor and confidant than as a musical attendant.¹⁶⁸

160 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 191; and ACO, B 1538, fol. 258v [XIIxxXIIIv].

161 In May 1400, for instance, Jacques de Templeuve was sent into the county of Nevers to carry out «aucunes besoingnes que icellui seigneur ne veult autrement estre declairé» (ACO, B 1517, fol. 64 [LXIII]).

162 Jacques de Templeuve was called upon to help list and appraise *all* the jewels, silver, and plate belonging to Philip the Bold after the death of the duke in 1404 (the inventory is printed in Picard, *Dévotion*, pp. 77-105). He also inventoried the valuables of John the Fearless (died 1419) in 1420 and Margaret of Bavaria (died 1423) in 1425 (Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, p. xix; and Marix, *Histoire*, p. 171).

163 ACO, B 1538, fol. 120v [VIxxv].

164 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 174.

165 Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 203. It is possible that the cost of maintaining the hotel of Jean de Chartres in the royal palace was defrayed by King Charles VI. If this was the case, it represents a further example of Philip the Bold's exploitation of the resources of the crown for his personal advantage.

166 In 1403, Philip the Bold gave Jacques de Templeuve three hundred *écus* to pay for reparations Jacques had undertaken in his [Jacques'] hotel (ACO, B 1538, fol. 218 [CCXVI]).

167 Petit, *Itinéraires*, p. 285. A further manifestation of the familiarity between Philip and Jean de Chartres is contained in an entry of 1386 which states that Jean had presented the duke with three embroidered silk shirts (ACO, B 1465, fol. 66v [LXVI]).

168 Jacques de Templeuve had formally received the title of «conseiller» to Duke Philip the Good by 1425 (ACO, B 1631, fol. 200; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 171).

As compensation for their services, Philip the Bold gave his first chaplain, chaplains, clerks, and *sommeliers* a daily wage, pension, food, housing, clothing, transportation, and incidental gifts. Beginning in 1384, the year the Burgundian chapel was instituted, the first chaplain, Jean de Chartres, received an annual pension of one hundred francs and was supplied with three horses and two personal valets. The other chaplains were allotted a pension of forty francs and provided with two horses and one valet. The clerks were given only thirty francs pension and a single horse and valet.¹⁶⁹ In 1384, each member of the chapel received his pension on the day that he entered Burgundian service and in subsequent years in the octave of Easter. The daily wages were set at thirteen sous, four deniers, for the first chaplain, eight sous for the other chaplains, and five sous, four deniers, for the clerks.¹⁷⁰ Payment of wages was made approximately every six weeks, and it was the job of the first chaplain to verify that each singer had served the six-week period and to distribute the money to the men. In April 1388, a distinction was made for the first time between the office of clerk of the chapel and that of *sommelier*, so that a clerk henceforth received thirty francs annual pension, and a *sommelier* only twenty. Sometime between 19th April and 30th April 1391, the wages of the chapel members were increased, the first chaplain now receiving one franc per day, the other chaplains ten sous, eight deniers, the clerks eight sous, and the *sommeliers* sixteen deniers.¹⁷¹

During the years 1384-1396, the members of the chapel of Burgundy and their valets dined in the hotel of Philip the Bold and were paid their wages from the common expense of his hotel (*escroes*). But on 31st January 1397, Philip issued an ordinance which formally removed the singers from the expense of his hotel.¹⁷² Henceforth, neither the chaplains, clerks, nor any of their valets would be fed at the table of the duke, although they continued to be quartered in his hotel. Moreover, the annual pensions of the chaplains and clerks were to be withdrawn.¹⁷³ To compensate for these losses, the daily pay of the men was again increased; the wages of the chaplains were set at one franc per day and

169 ACO, B 321bis, liasse, no folio; and ACO, B 1461, fols. 35v-38v [XLIIIv-XLVIIv].

170 ACO, B 321bis, liasse, no folio.

171 ACO, B 1487, fol. 96v [IIIxxXVIIIv]; Bibl. nat., CB 23, fols. 58v and 84; and ACO, B 356, liasse, no folio.

172 ACO, B 356, liasse, no folio; and Bibl. nat., CB 25, fol. 92. The ordinance of 31st January 1397 is printed in Plancher, *Histoire*, III, doc. No. CLXXVI.

173 The chaplains and clerks received their pensions for the years 1397, 1398, and 1402 despite the ducal ordinance. They were paid a pension in 1397 simply because Philip felt they were entitled to it (Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 92), in 1398 because they had expended considerable sums of their own money when they accompanied Philip on several expeditions the duke had recently made into Brabant, Flanders, Artois and «en pluseurs autre lieux» (ACO, B 1519, fol. 166 [VIIIxxVI]), and again in 1402 because they had incurred expenses in the service of the duke in Brabant, Flanders, and Brittany (Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 218).

those of the clerks at ten sous, eight deniers. The first chaplain and the *sommeliers* continued to receive their pensions and enjoy their «livree de bouche» at the ducal table as before, but accordingly, their wages remained at the rate of one franc per day and sixteen deniers per day, respectively.¹⁷⁴ Removing the chapel from the common expense of the hotel was a purely administrative action; the duke no longer paid his singers on a short-term basis but gave them a global sum to defray the expenses of the chapel for an entire year, the amount of the annual allotment usually being about 10,000 francs.

A substantial portion of the funds allocated to the chapel each year was to be used to dress its personnel. Of the 10,050 francs Philip the Bold expended on his chapel in 1398, for example, 1,769 francs went to purchase liveries.¹⁷⁵ The duke displayed his love of fine clothes by dressing himself and his retinue in sartorial splendor. The livery of his singers included a sumptuous outer robe and an elaborate *chaperon* both of which were covered with a cloak of fur during the winter season.¹⁷⁶ To complete the sardotal costume, each chaplain was supplied with an alb, an amice, and a surplice. The color of the livery varied from year to year. In 1389, for example, the chaplains were attired in red and the clerks and *sommeliers* in green;¹⁷⁷ in 1393 the chaplains were dressed in brown and the clerks and *sommeliers* in pink.¹⁷⁸ The monk of the chapel, Robert Souvent, was always clothed in a color different from the other chaplains, usually in white or in black and white. Obviously, a uniform color scheme was not thought to be necessary for the singers. A visitor to the Burgundian chapel on the feast of Epiphany, 1388, for example, would have seen twelve chaplains dressed in green, the monk Robert Souvent attired in white, four clerks clothed in blue, and the special «chantre» and clerk of the chapel, Cassin Hullin, dressed in grey.¹⁷⁹

174 Finally, on 27th June 1400, the first chaplain, then Jacques de Templeuve, also ceased to receive his pension and his «livree de bouche» in the ducal hotel. In exchange, his daily wage was raised from one to two francs (ACO, B 1519, fol. 63 [LXIII]; see also ACO, B 1517, fol. 64 [LXIII]; doc. 122).

175 Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 188.

176 The cloth for the robes and *chaperons* of the chaplains, clerks, and *sommeliers* was usually purchased in Brussels and the furs for their livery bought in Paris. The robe of each chaplain contained about eight yards of cloth and that of each clerk and *sommelier* about five. An order of payment for fur for the liveries of the chapel members for the year 1389 is given in doc. 73; and an order of payment for cloth for their liveries for 1391 is given in doc. 86.

177 ACO, B 1481, fol. 17v [XVIIv].

178 ACO, B 1500, fol. 131v [VIxxIV].

179 ACO, B 1471, fols. 27v [XXVIIv], 29v [XXIXv], and 34 [XXXIV]. To help celebrate the divine service on the major feast days of the liturgical year, a church dignitary, usually a bishop or an abbot, was often called to the Burgundian court. Dressed in a special sacerdotal vestment trimmed with jewels and embroidered orphreys, the visiting prelate would officiate the mass and canonical hours assisted by the choir of chaplains and clerks. A list of the prelatric robes owned by Philip the Bold is given in Picard, *Dévotion*, pp. 95-96.

Like the minstrels of the court of Burgundy, the singers of the chapel received monies from the duke beyond their wages, pensions, and liveries. The extraordinary gifts were normally made to compensate for losses the men had suffered while in Philip's service. Jean Haussant, for example, received forty francs in 1389 to help replace the sixty francs he had lost when riding from Dijon to Paris;¹⁸⁰ in 1391 the same singer was again given forty francs to defray the expenses he had incurred while recuperating from an illness in the town of Hesdin;¹⁸¹ four years later Jean Haussant received an additional thirty francs from the ducal treasury when the house he owned in Paris was damaged by fire.¹⁸² Not infrequently, the singers of the chapel were provided with money to assist needy relatives. A case in point was the plight of Eynart le Fevre of Rheims who was given sixty francs in 1395 to aid his indigent father,¹⁸³ twenty *écus* in 1397 to support his six younger brothers and sisters after his father's death,¹⁸⁴ and sixty francs in 1402 to provide a wedding present for one of his sisters.¹⁸⁵ Naturally, the rule of celibacy prevented the chaplains from receiving nuptial gifts for themselves.¹⁸⁶ Philip the Bold also helped the chapel personnel purchase houses. Jean Abidon, Jean Ondanch, Jean de Hamencourt, Jean de Watignies, and Regnault de Houx all received between fifty and three hundred francs for this purpose while in the ducal service.

When the sculptor Claus Sluter and the painter Melchior Broederlam were creating the magnificent effigies and altarpieces of the Charterhouse of Champmol in the 1390's, they each had a daily wage of eight sous, an annual pension of between sixty and two hundred francs, and a horse and two valets at their command.¹⁸⁷ The minstrels of the court and the singers of the chapel received like compensation at this time, except that the pensions of the singers were somewhat smaller than those of the other artists. But what the singers lacked in pensions was more than recompensed by the revenues they took from their canonicates and chaplainries. When wages, pensions, beneficiary incomes, and extraordinary gifts were totalled, the artists of the court of Burgundy—whether singers, instrumentalists, sculptors, or painters—received compensation

180 ACO, B 1479, fol. 62v [LXIIv].

181 ACO, B 1487, fol. 88 [IIIxxX].

182 ACO, B 1503, fol. 102 [CII].

183 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 26.

184 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 313.

185 ACO, B 1532, fol. 171 [VIIIxxXI]. Pierre Quiquette received two hundred francs as a wedding gift for his sister in 1398 (ACO, B 1519, fol. 141 [VIIxxI]), and the former papal singer Regnault du Houx was given eighty francs to help marry two of his nieces in 1402 (ACO, B 1532, fol. 200v [CCv]).

186 Of the singers of the chapel of Burgundy, only Cassin Hullin, hired by Philip the Bold as a chamber valet and a «chantre» for the chapel, appears to have married (see above p. 60). Cassin was given one hundred francs by the duke at the time of his wedding in the fall of 1395 (ACO, B 1511, fol. 57v [LVIv]).

187 Bibl. nat., CB 98, fol. 685; Liebreich, *Claus Sluter*, p. 25; Dehaisnes, *Histoire*, II, 661; and AN, B 4074, fol. XLIII.

which approached four hundred francs annually. By the standards of the age, they were all very wealthy men.

Yet although the artists of the court of Burgundy were on a parity with regard to income, the singers of the chapel enjoyed a more elevated position in Burgundian society than the station assigned the minstrels and other craftsmen of the court.¹⁸⁸ Unlike the minstrels, the chaplains and clerks were capable of reading musical notation, and some were talented composers. But the singers of the chapel of Burgundy owed their relatively higher social status to the simple fact that they were firstly ecclesiastics and only secondarily skilled craftsmen. The chaplains, who throughout the Burgundian account books have the deferential title «messire» prefixed to their names, were all literate men and, unlike the duke, were able to read Latin. On more than one occasion they executed liturgical books for Philip's oratory and chapel.¹⁸⁹ Philip the Bold continued to invite his chaplains to dine at his table, even after the men had been formally removed from the expense of his hotel. On 25th March 1399, for instance, the chaplains feasted with the duke, the count of Périgord (Archambaud VI), and the English ambassadors to France.¹⁹⁰ On 29th May 1401, they were again at Philip's table, this time to share his hospitality with the archbishop of Sens and the bishops of Arras and Tournai.¹⁹¹ Besides this princely company and fare, the chaplains enjoyed a livery more luxurious than that given the other artists of the court. Since each individual in Burgundian society was dressed in strict accordance with his social status, it is significant that in the 1390's the robe provided by Philip for a ducal minstrel cost ten francs, that of the sculptor Claus Sluter thirty francs, and that of a chaplain seventy-four francs.¹⁹²

The loquacious monk of St. Denis, when discussing the character of Philip the Bold after the duke's death in 1404, mentions that Philip displayed an «excessive prodigality» with regard to his chapel, and that such an excess would have been blameworthy had it not been «a distinctive mark of devotion to God.»¹⁹³ The monk's testimony is substantiated by entries in the Burgundian ledgers which show that Philip expended 10,050 francs in wages and livery for his chapel in 1398,¹⁹⁴ 10,351 francs in 1399,¹⁹⁵ 9,213 francs in 1400,¹⁹⁶ 9,201

188 Johan Huizinga (*Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 224) has eloquently argued that the mediaeval mind thought of the artist and craftsman as one and the same, and that all art was viewed as applied art.

189 ACO, B 1462, fol. 124v [VIxxVv]; ACO, B 1469, fol. 36 [XXXVI]; and ACO, B 1503, fol. 180v [IXxxv].

190 Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 203.

191 Bibl. nat., CB 54, fol. 13v.

192 ACO, B 1514, fol. 242v [IIcXLv]; ACO, B 1438, fol. 67 [LXVII]; Bibl. nat., CB 53, fol. 188; and Dehaisnes, *Histoire*, II, 696.

193 Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, III, 146.

194 ACO, B 1514, fol. 73v [LXXIIv]. All figures which include sous and deniers have been rounded off to the next lowest franc.

195 ACO, B 1517, fol. 48v [XLVIIIv].

196 ACO, B 1519, fol. 62 [LXII].

francs in 1401,¹⁹⁷ 9,263 francs in 1402,¹⁹⁸ 10,786 francs in 1403,¹⁹⁹ and anticipated spending 10,982 francs in 1404.²⁰⁰ The «prodigality» of these sums becomes apparent when they are compared to the amounts dispensed by other princes at this time to support chapels. Philip's brother John, duke of Berry, had sponsored his private chapel since at least 1372.²⁰¹ In 1400, he paid his chaplains, clerks, and *sommeliers* wages of 5,604 francs²⁰² (compared to 7,672 francs in wages paid by the duke of Burgundy), 5,700 francs in 1401²⁰³ (compared to 7,694 francs), and 5,952 in 1402²⁰⁴ (compared to 7,782 francs). King Charles VI of France maintained a chapel usually composed of twelve chaplains and six clerks. In 1399, he expended 367 *livres* of Paris for the livery of his singers²⁰⁵ (compared to Philip's allocation of 1,766 francs), whereas in 1401 the king spent 381 *livres* of Paris for their livery²⁰⁶ (compared to the Burgundian outlay of 1,507 francs). Popes Clement VII (1378-1394) and Benedict XIII (1394-1417) spent a regular amount year after year to finance the papal chapel at Avignon, though the allotment was usually less than the sum expended by the duke of Burgundy. In 1404, for example, Pope Benedict XIII paid about 3,300 francs in wages to his chapel members,²⁰⁷ while the same year Philip the Bold had budgeted 9,179 francs in wages for his men.

The amounts spent by Philip the Bold to support his chapel were larger than those dispensed by other lords not only because Philip paid higher wages than the other princes, but also because there were many more singers in the Burgundian chapel to pay. In 1401, for example, the chapel of Burgundy included twenty chaplains, two clerks, and three *sommeliers*.²⁰⁸ The chapel of the duke of Berry that same year had nine chaplains, six clerks, and seven *sommeliers*.²⁰⁹ King Charles VI supported thirteen chaplains and five clerks in

197 ACO, B 1526, fol. 64 [LXX].

198 ACO, B 1532, fol. 84 [IIIxxIV].

199 ACO, B 1538, fol. 64v [LXIIIv].

200 ACO, B 1538, fols. 65v-66v [LXVv-LXVIv]; doc. 131. The fiscal year 1404 was cut short by the duke's death. Wages and livery owed to the chapel up through the day of his interment (16th June) amounted to 5,377 francs.

201 Archives nationales, KK 251, fol. 100v.

202 Archives nationales, KK 254, fol. 64.

203 Archives nationales, KK 254, fol. 122v.

204 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 6747, fol. 7v.

205 Archives nationales, KK 27, fol. 22v.

206 Archives nationales, KK 27, fol. 159.

207 The figure 3,300 is based on a *florenus de camera* of thirty sous and derived by prorating the bimonthly sum given by Günther («Biographie,» p. 193) over the entire year. For a detailed discussion of relative monetary values at the end of the fourteenth century, see Schäfer, *Apostolischen Kammer*, pp. 47-131.

208 ACO, B 1526, fol. 64 [LXX]; and ACO, B 1532, fol. 85 [IIIxxV].

209 Archives nationales, KK 254, fols. 119v-120. The members of the chapel of Berry in this year were Ascelin Royné, first chaplain; Pierre Belon, Pierre Boileau, Loys Chambly, Pierre Gillain, Étienne le Quien, Fremin le Vasseur, Melchior [de la

1401,²¹⁰ and Queen Isabel had seven chaplains, one clerk, and two *sommeliers*.²¹¹ By 1404, the complement of the chapel of Burgundy had been increased to twenty-eight including twenty-one chaplains, three clerks, and four *sommeliers*.²¹² In that same year, the papal chapel of Benedict XIII had

Cousture], Bernard de Montigny, chaplains; Richard de la Couldre, Cardinet d'Iville alias Malescure, Robinet de Heugueville, Perrinet l'Aisne, Jean Bonduc dit Fundamenta, Thassin Poschon, clerks; Henri Riout, Étienne du Boys, Jehannin le Noble, Symonnet Arnoul, Jehannin Carité, Robinet Huyot, Perrinet Estienne, *sommeliers*.

Fremin le Vasseur and Bernard de Montigny were later taken into Burgundian service (see below pp. 104-105 and 119-121).

Cardinet d'Iville, clerk of the chapel of Berry, had presented the duke of Burgundy with a missal on behalf of the duke of Berry in October 1392 and was paid twenty francs (ACO, B 1487, fol. 94v [IIIxxXVIv]).

The Jehannin Carité listed as a *sommelier* may have been the composer «Charité» named in the *Canonici* 213 MS (fol. 90v). Pirro (*Musique à Paris*, p. 25) offers three possible identities for the composer Charité: Jean Charité, canon of Laon and minister of the Burgundian Court of Love (see below p.136); Jean Carité, canon of St. Donatien and chaplain of the duke of Berry; and Jacques Carité, also chaplain of the duke of Berry. However, these three may have been one and the same individual, since canons frequently held more than one benefice and because the records of the court of Berry refer to Carité sometimes as «Jehannin» and sometimes as «Jaques» (*confer* Archives nationales, KK 254, fol. 120; and Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, 841, fol. 190). The chaplain of Berry (and composer?) may have withdrawn to the cathedral of Cambrai after the death of the duke of Berry, since a Jacques Carité is listed as a canon at the church by 1433 (AN, 4 G 7299). The Jacques Carité at Cambrai died on 28th July 1461, and his last will and testament, of which Guillaume Dufay was an executor, is preserved in the departmental archives in Lille (AN, 4 G 1253) and is partially printed in Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, p. 261.

210 Archives nationales, KK 27, fol. 159. The royal chapel in this year included Jean du Moulin, first chaplain; Robert Fueillet, Robert Harembourt, Pierre de Vielleville, Guillaume Augnier, Adam le Droues, Jean Derpy, Cardinet le Fevre, Jean Jozias, Jean Vassal, Étienne des Mares, Philippe Émeron, Jean Giraudon, chaplains; Guiot Thierry, Jamet le Fevre, Jean de Chastillon, Raoul le Gay, Jean Fisset, clerks.

Just as Jean de Watignies divided his time between the court of Burgundy and the papal court at Avignon (see above p. 62), so Étienne des Mares appears to have served both the duke of Burgundy and King Charles VI during the years 1399-1401.

Jean du Moulin had succeeded Clément Petit as the king's first chaplain in 1396 (see above p. 15). That same year, he presented the duke of Burgundy with a breviary «à l'usage de Paris» and received in return a silver goblet (ACO, B 1508, fol. 119v [CXVIIIv]; doc. 107). In 1416, Jean du Moulin was paid one hundred francs by the chapter of Notre Dame of Paris for helping to repair the new organ of the cathedral (Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XLIII). He died on 17th September 1421 (Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. VIIIxxXI). For further information on Jean du Moulin, see Pirro, «Gilles Mureau,» p. 163; Bourgeois de Paris, *Journal*, p. 147, n. 3; and Leber, *Collection*, p. 218.

The clerk Raoul le Gay sold a «livre de chant» to Louis, duke of Orléans, in 1393 (Le Roux de Lincy, *Bibliothèque*, p. 32).

211 Archives nationales, KK 27, fol. 166. The queen's chapel included Jean Maresse, first chaplain; Étienne Galhaout, Pierre Aume, Jean Colet, Raoul Gosset, Jacques du Boshert, Jean Guillart, chaplains; Jehannin Vaillant, clerk; Ancelet de Veulletes, Guillaume Marchant, *sommeliers*.

thirteen attendants (eleven chaplains and two clerks),²¹³ while John V, duke of Brittany, had only six chaplains and two clerks in his employ.²¹⁴ Clearly, the singers of the chapel of Burgundy were the best dressed, the best paid, and the most numerous of any court in France at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The group counted among its more illustrious members the composer Jean François, the young Pierre Fontaine, and on occasion Jean Tapissier, Philip's chamber valet. The high quality and numerical superiority of the Burgundian singers is affirmed by Jean Le Laboureur: «He [Philip] had an excellent Music maintained for this subject [the divine service], which was larger in number and better chosen than that of his ancestors the Kings.»²¹⁵

212 ACO, B 1538, fols. 65v-66v [LXVv-LXVIv]; doc. 131.

213 Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 192-193.

214 Morice, *Preuves*, col. 738.

215 Le Laboureur, *Histoire*, I, 484: Il avoit mesmes une excellent Musique entretenue pour ce sujet, qui estoit en plus grand nombre, et mieux choisie que celle des Roys ses Ancestres. See also Religieux de Saint-Denis, *Chronique*, III, 146.



5. The Salle des Gardes of the palace of the dukes of Burgundy in Dijon with the sarcophagi of Duke John the Fearless and Duchess Margaret of Bavaria (foreground) and Duke Philip the Bold (background).

The Chapel of John the Fearless

Philip the Bold died in the Stag Inn at Hal, near Brussels, on 27th April 1404.¹ Soon after his passing, an elaborate funeral train of mourners attired in newly-made black robes was assembled from the ranks of the ducal retinue to conduct the body through Flanders and ultimately back to Dijon. Among the *pleurants* of the lugubrious cortège were ten chaplains clothed in double robes and double *chaperons*, and six chaplains, who were to ride with the corpse the entire way to Dijon, dressed in single robes and *chaperons*.² The other chaplains and clerks presumably were to remain in Flanders and celebrate masses for the salvation of the departed soul, just as the ducal chaplains and clerks would do following the death of John the Fearless in 1419. The singers of the chapel were paid full wages for their services until Philip was finally interred in his Charterhouse of Champol near Dijon. On that day, 16th June 1404, the chapel of Philip the Bold was formally disbanded.³

Finding themselves now suddenly without employment, most of the erstwhile singers of the chapel of Burgundy seem to have returned to the churches at which they held lucrative prebends: Jean François and Andrieu du Mor withdrew to the cathedral of Evreux, where they were canons,⁴ and Jacques de Templeuve returned to serve as canon and «sous chantre» at the cathedral of Chartres;⁵ Henri le Fevre went back to Rheims,⁶ Gilles le Gras to Meaux,⁷ and Vincent Colas to the cathedral of Soissons;⁸ Jean Ondanch returned to Bruges to live from the income of several prebends he held in that town and was buried in the church of St. Donatien;⁹ and Pierre Quiquette apparently retired to Noyon where he is listed as a canon of the cathedral as late as 1419.¹⁰ Only Regnault du Houx appears to have accepted a position in the chapel of another prince, for by 5th August 1404 he had reëntered the chapel of Pope Benedict XIII.¹¹

1 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 30.

2 Bibl. nat., CB 54, fol. 79v. The robes and *chaperons* worn by the chaplains were similar to those sculptured by Claus Sluter and his pupils for the *pleurants* of the base of the sarcophagus of Philip the Bold now preserved at the Musée des beaux-arts in Dijon (see Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 233). See plate 5, p. 84.

3 ACO, B 1538, fol. 66v [LXVIv].

4 ACO, B 1571, fol. 155v [VIIxxXVIv].

5 Pirro, «Gilles Mureau,» p. 163; and Aubrée, *Mémoires*, II, 93.

6 ACO, B 1576, fol. 248 [CCXLV].

7 ACO, B 1571, fol. 161v [VIIIxxIIv].

8 ACO, B 1588, fol. 44v [XLVIv].

9 Gilliodts-Van Severen, «Obituaire de Saint-Donatien,» p. 328. He is listed as still active in the affairs of the chapter of St. Donatien on 21st April 1421 (Schrevel, *Histoire*, p. 54, n. 4).

10 ACO, B 1598, fol. IIcIX.

11 Günther, «Biographie,» p. 193.

The failure of John the Fearless to rehire and maintain the splendid chapel assembled by his father can be partially ascribed to the new duke's temperament and partially to the financial predicament he inherited from his predecessor.¹² The second duke of Burgundy of the house of Valois was a man far more narrow and introspective than his cosmopolitan father. Whereas Philip tended to use extravagance and conspicuous display to impress an adversary with the power of Burgundy, John preferred connivance, subterfuge, and, ultimately, military force to attain his desired result. Naturally, a large, elegantly dressed chapel was less suitable to the somewhat more austere court of Burgundy that existed under John the Fearless than it was during the stately reign of Philip the Bold. What is more, the financial situation of the new ruler was critical; the steady stream of allowances and pensions which Philip the Bold had managed to channel from the royal treasury of Charles VI into the Burgundian coffers was now being diverted into the hands of Louis, duke of Orléans, the archenemy of John the Fearless.¹³ John's position was further weakened by the fact that Philip the Bold had left sizeable debts at the time of his death,¹⁴ not the least of which was the money he owed to the singers of his chapel. Although a sum of 5,041 francs, five sous, ten deniers, was owed to the men for wages, pensions, and liveries after the interment of Philip, it was not until more than three years later, on 14th November 1407, that his successor ordered the money to be paid.¹⁵ Despite this directive, it took several years more for the books on Philip's chapel finally to be closed; the composer Jean François, for example, did not receive the two hundred and twenty-nine francs, six sous, that were owed him until June of 1408,¹⁶ while Jacques de Fescamp had to wait until June of 1413—more than nine years after the death of Philip—before the one hundred and sixty-one francs, six sous, that were due him finally were paid.¹⁷

12 Two former members of the chapel of Philip the Bold, Gillot du Moulin and Jean de Lachenel called Boulogne, were given new positions at the court of Burgundy under John the Fearless. Gillot was appointed chamber valet to the new duke by 1407 (ACO, B 1554, fol. 65v [LXXV]) and Jean de Lachenel *sommelier de corps* by at least 1409 (ACO, B 1558, fol. 71 [LXXV]). By 1418, Jean de Lachenel had been named guard of the jewels of the chapel (ACO, B 1594, fol. CXv) and sometime before 2nd July 1419 was promoted to the position of secretary to the duke (ACO, B 1598, fol. IXxxI). In 1409, he exchanged a prebend he held in the diocese of Autun for a chaplainry at Notre Dame of Paris (Archives nationales, LL 110, p. 242), and in 1411 he added the deanery at the church of St. Paul in Liège to his benefices (ACO, B 1554, fol. 65v [LXXV]). On 4th May 1437, he received a canonicate at the church of Ste. Waudru in Mons (Devillers, *Chartes*, III, 201), a canonicate which fell to Guillaume Dufay after the death of Jean de Lachenel (Baix, «Carrière 'bénéficiaire' de Guillaume Dufay,» pp. 271-272). Jean also enjoyed a canonicate at the collegiate church of St. Pierre and a «maison canoniale» in Lille at the time of his death. He died before 20th August 1446 (AN, 16 G 138, No. 1420; see Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire*, II, 1002).

13 Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 41-43 and 85-87.

14 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 31.

15 ACO, B 1556, fol. 128v [VIxxVIIIv].

16 ACO, B 1556, fol. 135 [VIxxXV]; doc. 142.

17 ACO, B 1576, fol. 201 [IXxxXVII].

In place of the many-voice chapel favored by his father, John the Fearless decided to institute what might best be termed a «skeleton» chapel; he maintained a small number of clerics for his daily spiritual needs and supplemented this group with singers drawn from outside the court on special feast days. A very few of the singers who had served the first duke were retained by John: Jean Haussant was rehired as a chaplain and Thevenin Hardy as a clerk.¹⁸ Two new men, Gilles d'Aignay, a Benedictine monk, and Pierre de Rosay, were engaged as chaplains, though both also acted as almoners.¹⁹ This nucleus of less than half a dozen men satisfied the spiritual needs of the new duke on ferial days. On such occasions, John was apparently content to hear only a «basse messe» or, at most, a «grant messe» sung in plainchant:²⁰ the very small number of singers in his employ on ferial days and Sundays of lower rank probably precluded a polyphonic performance of the mass.

On major feast days, however, additional singers were called to the court.²¹ In 1407, for instance, six chaplains and four «enffans de coeur» of the collegiate church of St. Pierre in Lille were paid to come to Ghent, where John was residing, to celebrate the mass and canonical hours before the duke during Holy Week.²² On 28th December 1411, while he was staying in his hôtel d'Artois in Paris, an order he gave extended compensation «to the chaplains of the

18 ACO, B 1547, fol. 101 [CIII]; and ACO, B 1554, fol. 92v [IIIxxXIIv].

19 ACO, B 1588, fol. 66v [LXXv]; and ACO, B 1560, fol. 47v [XLIXv]. Pierre de Rosay apparently began his career at the court of Burgundy as a clerk (ACO, B 1547, fol. 101 [CIII]), but by 1409 he had been appointed chaplain and subalmoner of the duke (Bibl. nat., CB 25, fol. 27). He was provided with a canonicate at the church of St. Pierre in Lille by 1411 (Hautcoeur, *Documents*, p. 328, n. 3), and in the spring of 1413 he bought a house in that town (ACO, B 1576, fol. 141 [VIxxVII]). He also held the provostship of St. Pierre in Cassel (Hautcoeur, *Histoire*, II, 259) and by 1439 had been named «conseiller» of Philip the Good (Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire*, II, 973). His testament is dated 22nd August 1453, and he died that same year (the will is partially printed in Hautcoeur, *Documents*, p. 328, n. 3). For more information on Pierre de Rosay, see Hautcoeur, *Histoire*, II, 259 and 329.

20 The fact that Gilles d'Aignay is later listed among the «chappellains des basses messes» of the duke indicates that this cleric probably had not been hired as a singer (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 2v).

21 The special feast days celebrated at the court of Burgundy under John the Fearless to which supplementary singers were called included Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany, Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, the Annunciation of the B. V. M., Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday, the feast of St. George, Ascension Day, the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, Pentecost, Trinity, the feast of St. Augustine, the feast of The Most Precious Blood of Our Lord, the feast of St. Lawrence, the Assumption of the B. V. M., and All Saints' Day. There were also special commemorations for the departed souls of Louis of Male, Philip and Margaret, and for the men who had died in John's service at the battles of Nicopolis (1396) and Othée (1408).

22 ACO, B 1547, fol. 99 [CI]; doc. 136.



6. Fifteenth-century copy of a lost contemporary portrait of Duke John the Fearless (Antwerp, Musée royal des beaux-arts).

hotel of my said lord and other chaplains from outside who celebrated the divine service on Christmas Day.»²³ Some of the «other chaplains from outside» who helped perform the liturgy before the duke were erstwhile singers of Philip the Bold. Philip's former chaplain Jean Boucher²⁴ was recognized in 1407 for having served the new duke «in his chapel on several solemn feast days in Paris and elsewhere.»²⁵ Jean François, Andrieu du Mor, and Henri le Fevre—even though the first two men were living in Evreux and the latter in Rheims—undoubtedly were called to the court to assist at these «festes solempnelles,» since during the first decade of John's rule they are referred to as «chappelains de mon dit seigneur.»²⁶ Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the performing force which sang before John the Fearless never equalled the size of the one that Philip the Bold had assembled; the number of supplementary chaplains hired by John on major feast days seems to have varied between four and six, and their reward for having celebrated a mass before the duke usually totalled a meager three francs, six sous.²⁷ Typical of the payments made by John to visiting chaplains are:

1406. For other deniers paid by said treasurer [Jean Chousat] to the chaplains who celebrated the service before my said lord the feast of Epiphany, 1406 [n.s.]. That is to say: the vigil, vespers and matins; the feast day, the hours and the high mass; and other services on several feast days contained and declared in the letters of my said lord.... XVI fr. XVII s. VI d. of Tours.... Given in Paris the second day of February, 1406 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1543, fol. 167v [CLXVIIv]; doc. 132)

1409. To the chaplains who celebrated the divine service before him in his hôtel d'Artois in Paris the day of the feast of St. Louis recently passed, III fr. VII s. VI d. of Tours.... Given in Paris 28th August 1409.
(ACO, B 1558, fol. 48 [L]; doc. 148)

1411. The 19th day of said month [March].... there was celebrated a solemn service of vigils and high mass, with several other low masses, for the remembrance and reverence of the late my lady the duchess whose soul God has, XIII fr. X s. of Tours.... By mandement of my said lord given in Arras 23rd March 1411 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1562, fol. 37v [XXXIXv]; doc. 157)

23 ACO, B 1570, fol. 168; doc. 158.

24 Jean Boucher was promoted by Philip to chaplain on 18th January 1404 (ACO, 1538, fol. 66 [LXVI]; doc. 131).

25 ACO, B 1556, fol. 60 [LVIII]; doc. 140.

26 ACO, B 1571, fol. 155v [VIIxxXVIv]; and ACO, B 1576, fol. 248 [CCXLV].

27 ACO, B 1560, fol. 86v [IIIxxXIIIv]; and ACO, B 1570, fol. 283. The choir of the cathedral of Cambrai was another performing force which took on «auxiliary» singers during this period. After the chapter of the cathedral reduced the number of «petits vicaires» to twelve in 1408, the composer François le Bertoul is listed as «frequentanti chorum» and evidently joined with the regular choristers on festal occasions (see Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 55).

1412. To the chaplains who sang the mass before him said New Year's Day.... By letters of mandement of my said lord given said 22nd February 1412 [n.s.]... III fr. VI s. To the chaplains who celebrated the service before my said lord on said day of Our Lady in March, III fr. VIII s. of Paris.... To the chaplains who celebrated the divine service before my said lord on the Maundy Thursday following, XVIII s. of Paris. Item, for those who celebrated the service on the Good Friday following, III fr. VI s. of Paris. By letters of mandement of my said lord given 24th April 1412.

(ACO, B 1570, fol. 283; doc. 159)

On occasion John the Fearless would visit a cathedral or collegiate church to hear mass. The Sainte Chapelle of Paris seems to have been his favorite place of worship outside his own chapel. On All Saints' Day, 1409, for example, John attended mass at the Sainte Chapelle and paid the chaplains five francs, twelve sous, six deniers, for having sung the service before him.²⁸ In December of the same year, an additional payment was made to the Sainte Chapelle in recompense for the «several times my said lord has been in said chapel to hear the mass.»²⁹ Then on 15th December 1409, John gave the choirboys of the church three francs to help them celebrate the Feast of Fools of that year.³⁰ Two other collegiate churches frequented by the duke were St. Pierre in Lille and St. Donatien in Bruges.

Perhaps to conserve further his financial resources, John the Fearless decided not to fill immediately the post of first chaplain—in fact, for the first ten years of John's reign there was no first chaplain at the court of Burgundy. The duties which had fallen previously to the first chaplain were now assigned to the ducal confessor, Martin Porée.³¹ To cite one instance: at the time the singers from St. Pierre in Lille were coming to Ghent for the Easter season of 1407, Martin Porée was dispatched to Paris to fetch back to Ghent «a large coffer full of ornaments necessary and belonging to the chapel of said lord for the feast of Easter.»³² During his journey, which began on 4th March and lasted a fortnight, Martin was paid thirty sous per day; when he returned to Ghent it was his job to distribute twenty-five *écus* to the singers from Lille as compensation for their services during Holy Week.³³ Martin Porée and his successor, Jean

28 ACO, B 1558, fol. 49 [LI].

29 ACO, B 1558, fol. 96v [Cv]; doc. 150.

30 ACO, B 1558, fol. 93v [IIIxxXVIIv]; doc. 151.

31 Martin Porée was a Dominican friar who came from the town of Sens. He held a canonicate at the cathedral of Cambrai, and on 24th November 1407, because of strong support from the duke of Burgundy, he became bishop of Arras (Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, I, 118). He attended the Council of Pisa in 1409, made a diplomatic mission to England in 1411, and attempted to justify John's murder of Louis of Orléans at the Council of Constance (1414-1418). He died on 6th September 1426 (see Wylie, *History of England*, IV, 64; Lestocquoy, *Vie religieuse*, p. 60; and Mirot, «Jean sans Peur de 1398 à 1405,» p. 141, n. 4).

32 ACO, B 1554, fol. 198v [IXxxXVIIIv]; doc. 135.

33 ACO, B 1547, fol. 99 [CI].

Marchant,³⁴ likewise supervised the transportation and maintenance of the furnishings of the chapel, saw that the books of the chapel were periodically cleaned and rebound, and assured that the choirboys of the chapel received a competent guardian and tutor. Not until 1415, when Étienne des Mares was engaged as first chaplain, did these responsibilities cease to be the charge of the confessor.

* * * * *

As John the Fearless rose to the dominant position in the French government at the beginning of the second decade of the fifteenth century—an ascent in no small way facilitated by the bloody murder of Duke Louis of Orléans by John's hired assassins³⁵—he found it convenient to exploit and manipulate the musical forces of his young son-in-law and legal ward, Dauphin Louis of Guienne.³⁶ In the spring of 1410, we see that the «grans coffres» of the chapel of Burgundy had been ordered carried «from the hôtel d'Artois in Paris to the Louvre to be before my lord of Guienne on said Ascension Day.»³⁷ Later mandements show that John had paid five and a half francs to four chaplains who on that Ascension Day had helped «celebrate the service in the chapel of the Louvre in Paris where my lord of Guienne and my said lord [of Burgundy] had been,»³⁸ and that he had utilized the singers of the young duke in the Louvre on several other occasions in the spring and summer of 1410.³⁹

We know that Louis of Guienne had his own chapel by at least 1409 and had scandalized the citizens of Paris with his life of dissipation and excessive dependence on musical entertainment.⁴⁰ The chronicler Nicolas de Baye, clerk of the French parliament in those years, mentions that the dauphin had «musicians 'de bouche' or 'de voix' and for this [he] had a chapel with a large number of young people, among whom six or seven small boys he had taken from the church [of Notre Dame] of Paris two years ago, all at the same time,

34 Friar Jean Marchant replaced Martin Porée after the latter had become bishop of Arras. Jean Marchant was titularly appointed bishop of Bethlehem on 19th September 1412, though he continued to serve as John's confessor. He died on 11th December 1422 (Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, I, 139).

35 Louis of Orléans was slain by John's emissaries on the night of 23rd November 1407 (Baye, *Journal*, I, 206-207).

36 John was appointed guardian of Louis of Guienne on 27th December 1409 (d'Avout, *Querelle*, p. 121).

37 ACO, B 1560, fol. 44 [LI]; doc. 152.

38 ACO, B 1560, fol. 86v [IIIxxXIIIv]; doc. 153.

39 ACO, B 1560, fol. 45v [LIIv].

40 See above pp. 48-49.

and several from the Sainte Chapelle of the Palace.»⁴¹ Among the musicians «de bouche ou de voix» of the chapel of Louis of Guienne in 1414-1415 were:⁴²

Jacques Hermer	Chaplain
Jean François	Chaplain
Jean de Watignies	Chaplain
Eynart le Fevre	Chaplain
Jean Gossuin	Chaplain
Pierre Hutin	Chaplain
Jean Vernet	Clerk
Quentin Caveron ⁴³	Maître des enfants

Some of these names, of course, are familiar: Jean François, Jean de Watignies, and Eynart le Fevre had served in the chapel of Philip the Bold for ten years or more. Evidently, John had arranged to have former Burgundian singers placed in the chapel of the dauphin, just as he had filled the royal council with his pro-Burgundian minions at this time.⁴⁴ A fourth member of the dauphin's chapel, Jean Gossuin, had been reared at the court of Burgundy among John's «enfants de chapelle.»

John the Fearless first introduced a group of three choirboys or «enfants de chapelle» in his court in the fall of 1406. In this, he was by no means an innovator: choirboys had been part of the chapel of the duke of Berry, of the Sainte Chapelle of the king, and of the major cathedral churches of central and northern France since the middle of the fourteenth century and before. Latin grammar and music were the two subjects taught the boys, and their education was considered to be «an investment in future loyalties» by the prince or prelate who supported them.⁴⁵

The man to whom John the Fearless entrusted the upbringing of his newly-acquired choirboys in the fall of 1406 was Jean Tapissier, a court composer and chamber valet to both John and his predecessor Philip the Bold.⁴⁶

41 Baye, *Journal*, II, 231-232: musicien de bouche ou de voix, et pour ce avoit chapelle de grand nombre de jeune gent, dont en avoit levé puiz deux ans six ou sept des petiz enfans de l'eglise de Paris à une seule foiz, et pluseurs de la Sainte Chappelle du Palaiz.

42 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1132.

43 In 1400, Quentin Caveron is listed as a canon of the collegiate church of St. Quentin (Raugel, «Notes,» p. 53).

44 See Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 84 and 93-94.

45 Pirrotta, «Music and Cultural Tendencies,» pp. 132-133.

46 See also below pp. 127-131.

Tapissier was contracted to feed and house the three young men at his residence in Paris and to teach them to sing. The boys' expenses for food, clothing, lodging, and instruction, which totalled about two hundred francs per annum, were paid in installments by Duke John. The order of payment of 13th December 1406 reads as follows:

To Jehan Tapissier, chamber valet of my said lord, of XXV gold francs royal money, that this lord has given to three boys which he has placed and left with said Tapissier to learn to sing. For this by mandement given in Paris 13th December 1406, here rendered with quittance of said Tapissier by which he affirms in his conscience to have distributed said sum in clothes for these boys.... XXV fr. (ACO, B 1554, fols. 85v-86 [IIIIxxVv-IIIIxxVI]; doc. 134)

Evidently, the «enfants de chapelle» did not normally make up part of the ducal entourage; the fact that John had to call four «enfants» from Lille to Ghent to be with him for the Easter services of 1407 indicates that the Burgundian choirboys at this time had remained with Tapissier in Paris to continue their schooling.

On at least one important occasion in 1408, however, John ordered his young singers to appear before him. This occurred in January when Tapissier and four «enfants de chant» were directed to come from Paris to be with John at a peace conference in Amiens. John had hastily fled from Paris to Lille in late November 1407, after his hired assassins had murdered Duke Louis of Orléans; from Lille John went to Amiens in January 1408 to meet with representatives of the French crown, John, duke of Berry, and Louis II, duke of Anjou, in an attempt to reconcile the Burgundian and Orléanist (or, as it was now called, Armagnac) factions and to avert civil war.⁴⁷ Tapissier and his four pupils probably travelled from Paris to Amiens in the cavalcade of the dukes of Berry and Anjou, since the roads of northern France were blocked with snow in the winter of 1407-1408 and the dukes were only able to reach Amiens by employing large numbers of peasants with shovels to clear a path before them.⁴⁸ Presumably, the choirboys were to help sing the divine service before the duke of Burgundy and add to the brilliance of his retinue. (It was reported that the duke of Burgundy was «magnificently attended» during the ten-day conference.)⁴⁹ They may also have performed during the festivities which accompanied the evening meal.⁵⁰ When the negotiations were concluded, John, accompanied by his choirboys and their master, withdrew to Arras and then, in late February, returned triumphantly to Paris. As compensation for transporting his four charges from Paris to Amiens and Arras, and then back to Paris, Jean Tapissier received fifty-six francs:

47 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 58-61.

48 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 59.

49 Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 60.

50 The custom of employing choirboys at secular court entertainments was well

To Jehan Tappissier the sum of LVI fr. which my said lord has ordered be given him for the expenditures which he has made in coming with III choirboys before my said lord, from Paris to Amiens and from there to Arras, himself and five horses. For this by mandement given 11th May 1408, here rendered with quittance of said Tappissier.... LVI fr. (ACO, B 1554, fol. 210 [IIcII]; doc. 141)

Upon their arrival in Paris, the choirboys were supplied with new robes for their livery of 1408 at a cost of ten francs each.⁵¹ The order of payment for the robes, dated 3rd March 1408, for the first time reveals the names of the youthful singers: Cardinet [de Crepon], [Jean] Gossuin, [Jean] Carbonnier, and Ancelet.⁵² It is likely that Ancelet was the last to be added to the group and that the three choirboys originally assigned to Tapissier in 1406 were Cardinet de Crepon,⁵³ Jean Gossuin,⁵⁴ and Jean Carbonnier.⁵⁵

established in the late Middle Ages. As early as circa 1350, the «enfants de choeur» of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris had a musical répertoire of «mottez, balades et teles choses» and were allowed to perform in the hotels of «le Roy, la Royne, monseigneur le Dauphin ou autres de nos seigneurs de France» (from a «réglement» of the Sainte Chapelle printed in Brenet, *Sainte-Chapelle*, pp. 15-20). Perhaps the most famous instance of this practice within the court of Burgundy occurred at the banquet of the Order of the Golden Fleece held in Lille on 17th February 1454, where «trois petis enfans de l'eglise et ung teneur» sang «une très douce chansson» and another choirboy and a tenor (the latter dressed as a stag) performed the rondeau *Je ne vis onques la pareille* (d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, II, 142 and 147).

51 The robe that the young Guillaume Dufay received the following year as a choirboy at the cathedral of Cambrai cost two francs, twelve sous, based on a *livre* of Tours (AN, 4 G 6789). Those provided the four choirboys at St. Donatien in Bruges in 1421 cost six *livres*, twelve sous, of Paris (Schrevel, *Histoire*, pp. 32-34).

52 ACO, B 1554, fol. 83v [IIIxxIIv].

53 Cardinet de Crepon (sometimes called Richard de Crepon) remained as an «enfant de chapelle» until 1411 when he is listed as a *sommelier* of the chapel (ACO, B 1570, fol. 168). By 1415, he had acceded to the post of chamber valet to the duke (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 193), a position which he continued to hold under John's successor, Philip the Good. Cardinet is named in Philip's service at the siege of Compiègne in May 1430 (AN, B 3398, No. 114722) and the following year received from Philip the right to control and collect profits from the gaming tables («jeux de quilles, boules, tables, dez et autres jeux») in the town of Ypres for the duration of his [Cardinet's] life (AN, B 1604, fol. 137 [VIxxXVII]). A quittance, dated 1st July 1419, written in the hand of Cardinet and signed by both him and Jean Carbonnier, is preserved in the departmental archives in Lille (AN, B 1919, No. 54738).

54 Jean Gossuin (spelled «Jeoffrin» in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 141) is named as a clerk of the chapel by August 1410 (ACO, B 1560, fol. 93 [CI]). In January 1411 as given in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 141, he received six francs to help him pursue a bachelor's degree in the faculty of arts at the University of Paris (ACO, B 1570, fol. 197v [CCVv]). By 1414-1415, he had entered the chapel of the dauphin, Louis of Guienne, where he

Tapissier relinquished responsibility for his four pupils during the fall of 1408. By 8th December, a new tutor, Colin de Neuville, had been engaged to instruct the boys. Colin's contract, which had been arranged by the ducal confessor, stipulated that he was to administer «boire, mengier, vestier, chaucier et autres leurs necessitez» for a period of one year and that he was to be paid two hundred *livres* of Paris.⁵⁶ Apparently the boys continued to reside principally in the capital, though in July 1409 they were given four «petits chevaulx» and ordered to ride to Brussels for the wedding of John's brother Anthony, duke of Brabant.⁵⁷ Colin de Neuville did not complete the full term of his contract; by 22nd November 1409, he had been replaced by Pierre Chorrot, a priest living in Paris and a former «magister puerorum» at the cathedral of Notre Dame.⁵⁸ This new master governed the Burgundian choirboys for almost three years, from 22nd November 1409 until 1st August 1412. In exchange for two hundred *livres* of Paris each year, Pierre was charged:

sang with three former papal and Burgundian singers, Jean François, Jean de Watignies, and Eynart le Fevre (Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1132).

55 Jean Carbonnier, who came from the town of Vauriz (ACO, B 1576, fol. 289v [CCIIIxxVIv]), is still listed as an «enfant de chapelle» in the spring of 1412 (ACO, B 1571, fol. 105 [CV]). By 1415, he had been elevated to the post of chamber valet to John (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 193) and by 1424 had been appointed secretary to Philip the Good (ACO, B 1625, fol. 192v; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 170). In 1431, he was apparently in Paris studying at the University and working as a secretary in the service of the English King Henry VI (AN, B 1942, fols. 36 and 96). He held a prebend at St. Donatien in Bruges in 1422 (Foppens, *Compendium*, p. 150) and in 1432 is listed as both provost of the churches of Mons and canon of Ste. Waudru in that town (Devillers, *Chartes*, III, 179). The latter two offices he resigned in 1435 in favor of Jacques de Templeuve (Devillers, *Chartes*, III, 195) in exchange for Jacques' canonicate at the cathedral of Cambrai (CBM, 1046, fol. 123). Between 1430 and 1442, Jean Carbonnier served as both chaplain and secretary to Duke Philip the Good, and his name appears along with other chaplains of Philip in Binchois' motet *Nove cantum melodie*. He died on 30th November 1442 (AN, B 17663; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 170).

56 ACO, B 1570, fol. 282v; doc. 144.

57 ACO, B 1558, fol. 106 [CX]; doc. 146.

58 Pierre Chorrot is listed as master of the choirboys of the cathedral in August 1402 (Archives nationales, LL 109b, p. 247). In December 1413, he is named in the registers of Notre Dame as being involved in a dispute over an ecclesiastical garment (Archives nationales, LL 111, p. 254).

to hold with him the young choirboys of the chapel of my said lord for the said time who are five in number. That is: Cardinet de Crepon, Jehannin Gossuin, Jehannin Carbonnier, Perrin Bonsaux,⁵⁹ and Jehannin Joffroy,⁶⁰ and teach them their grammar; and by means of said sum he will make their expenses, honestly dress them and provide shoes, and give them other necessities. [22nd November 1409] (ACO, B 1558, fol. 239 [XIIxxXI]; doc. 149)

Whether Pierre taught his wards music as well as grammar is not certain.

By the summer of 1412, the choirboys assigned to Pierre Chorrot had apparently grown too old to serve as male sopranos. In fact, one of the boys, Jean Carbonnier, had been placed in the army that John the Fearless led to Bourges to fight the Armagnacs in June 1412.⁶¹ To fill this void, John the Fearless engaged four new choirboys, all of whom had been serving at the court of John's uncle, the duke of Berry, and placed them under the guardianship of a new master, the composer and pedagogue Nicolas Grenon.⁶²

59 Pierre Bonsaux, sometimes called «Provins,» served as choirboy until 1412 and was then named clerk of the chapel (though he is occasionally referred to as *sommelier*). He was recompensed in 1413 «pour avoir fait chanter des messes» before Duke John (ACO, B 1576, fol. 290v [CCIIIxxXVIIv]). In 1417, Pierre and a ducal physician, Jean de Gobelin, were entrusted to share the revenues of five (!) prebends at St. Pierre in Lille, which John had caused to be confiscated from five canons of the church who had proved to be Armagnac sympathizers (AN, 16 G 23, No. 216). Pierre again enjoyed the favor of the duke in June 1419 when he received twenty francs to purchase a breviary (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 22). The testament of Pierre Bonsaux, dated 16th June 1433, states that in that year he held the office of canon in the church of St. Amé in Douai and was to be buried in that church (AN, 1 G 158, fol. 563).

60 Jean Jouffroy, like Pierre Bonsaux, is listed as a choirboy at the court of Burgundy from 1409 until 1412 and for the duration of John's reign is named as both *sommelier* and clerk of the chapel. In 1418, he was given six francs to buy an organ for the duke (ACO, B 1594, fol. VIIIxxXVIII; doc. 168), and on 4th October 1438 he was installed as a chaplain at the Sainte Chapelle of Dijon (ACO, G 1520, fol. 7).

61 ACO, B 1571, fol. 105 [CV]. At the time of the fighting, the jewels, ornaments, and books of the chapel were sent, under the watchful eye of chaplain Gilles d'Aignay, from Paris to Montbard in Burgundy for safe-keeping (ACO, B 1588, fol. IXxxXVI).

62 ACO, B 1572, fol. 23; doc. 160; repeated in ACO, B 1576, fol. 286 [CCIIIxxXIII].

Grenon, like Jean Tapissier, was well imbued with the musical tradition and usage of Paris. In 1399, he served as a clerk at the cathedral of Notre Dame and was named to replace his deceased brother Jean Grenon as a canon at the church of le St. Sépulcre in Paris, a church administered by the chapter of the cathedral.⁶³ (It has frequently, though incorrectly, been said that Grenon made up part of the chapel of Duke Philip the Bold as early as 1385.)⁶⁴ In 1401, Grenon was elevated from subdeacon to deacon of le St. Sépulcre.⁶⁵ By 1403, he was serving as «magister puerorum» at the cathedral of Laon, a position which he held until 1408, though he still retained his canonicate at le St. Sépulcre.⁶⁶ For a short period in 1408-1409, Grenon was in Cambrai where he taught grammar to the six choirboys of the cathedral and sang in the choir⁶⁷—a position he resigned in late July 1409.⁶⁸ Grenon's whereabouts between July 1409 and August 1412 have yet to come to light, though, like the new choirboys hired by John, it is possible that the new master was employed at the court of Berry prior to his engagement at the court of Burgundy.

Nicolas Grenon assumed his duties as chaplain and «maître des enfants» of the chapel of Burgundy on 1st August 1412.⁶⁹ He had four boys entrusted to him: Caisin Dupuy, Jean Dupuy, Philippot l'Arbalestier, and Jean Pousset. One of these, Caisin Dupuy, may have been with Grenon at Cambrai, since a choirboy in Grenon's charge named «Caisin» left the cathedral at the same time that the master withdrew in 1409.⁷⁰ (The place of Caisin in the ranks of the choirboys of the cathedral was filled four weeks later by one «Willemet,» thought to be the young Guillaume Dufay.)⁷¹ The four choristers of Burgundy were to be fed, clothed, and housed by Nicolas and were to be instructed by the

63 Archives nationales, LL 109a, p. 19. Jean Grenon had been received as a canon at le St. Sépulcre in 1392 (Archives nationales, LL 107, p. 47).

64 This error, which appears first in Dannemann, *Spätgotische Musiktradition* (p. 10) and is repeated in Clercx, «Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des MSS. italiens» (p. 111, n. 3), in Apel, *French Secular Compositions* (I, xxi), and in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* («Grenon»), evidently derives from a misreading of a passage in Pirro, «Gilles Mureau» (pp. 163-164).

65 Grenon was named subdeacon on 26th February and deacon on 19th March 1401 (Archives nationales, LL 109a, pp. 135 and 141).

66 Archives nationales, LL 109b, p. 453; see also Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 55. Grenon is still listed as a canon of le St. Sépulcre in March 1414 (Archives nationales, LL 111, p. 295).

67 Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 55.

68 AN, 4 G 6789.

69 ACO, B 1572, fol. 23; doc. 160.

70 AN, 4 G 6789. By 1415, Caisin Dupuy (or Nicaise Dupuy as he was later called) had been appointed chamber valet to John the Fearless (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 193). During the reign of Philip the Good, he served as first chaplain and councillor. He died in 1465. For information on the activities of Caisin Dupuy at the court of Philip the Good, see Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 172-173.

71 AN, 4 G 6789.

master «en l'art de musique.»⁷² Initially, Grenon was hired for a three-year period and was to be paid two-hundred and twenty-five francs each year in semiannual installments (on Easter and All Saints' Day). He must have proved satisfactory as chaplain and tutor of the choirboys of Burgundy, for he was retained in that post until the death of John the Fearless in September 1419.

In 1413, Grenon appears to have been with John in Ghent for the services of the Christmas season. A mandement issued from that city on 26th December states that Grenon and two of his pupils had been supplied with horses and that Grenon's steed was a «cheval bay à courte queue.»⁷³ The following March, the master was given ten francs, seventeen sous, six deniers, to buy «pourpoints, robes, linges et chausses» for himself and his wards.⁷⁴ Apparently, Grenon was still with the duke in Flanders at this time because he had engaged a certain Pierre Busco to act as vicar of his canonicate at le St. Sépulcre in Paris. An entry in the registers of Notre Dame shows that on 8th March 1414 the chapter recognized Busco as Grenon's surrogate in view of the fact that Grenon was «absens a villa parisiensis.»⁷⁵ Since the Armagnacs had taken control of Paris at this time, it is not surprising that Grenon, a Burgundian partisan, found it expedient to leave the capital. In 1416, Grenon's charges included Jean Dupuy, Jean Pousset, Michelet Despeaux, and Jean le Fevre.⁷⁶ The following year, he and the four choirboys were given money to buy «brides et autres harnois de leurs chevaulx,»⁷⁷ and in 1418 they were provided with forty francs to purchase «robes à chevaucher, pourpoints, chausses, robes, linges, souliers, etc.»⁷⁸ After John and his Burgundian forces had retaken Paris in the summer of 1418, three of the young men, Jean Pousset, Michelet Despeaux, and Jean le Fevre, were inscribed as «escoliers à Paris» and each paid five sous, four deniers, daily to defray his expenses.⁷⁹ However, the boys' studies seem to have been interrupted in October of 1418 when they and a fourth chorister (probably Jean Dupuy) were given a total of twelve francs to dress themselves suitably to serve in the army that John was assembling in the name of the king to send «contre les Anglois, ses anciens ennemis.»⁸⁰

72 ACO, B 1572, fol. 23; doc. 160.

73 AN, B 1903, fol. VIIxxIII; doc. 162. On 17th December, the ducal confessor, Jean Marchant, had been sent from Ghent to Lille to lead back to Ghent the furnishings of the chapel «pour les jour et festes du noel ensuivant» (AN, B 1903, fol. VIIxxXVII). The chaplains who celebrated the service during the Christmas season were paid thirty-two livres of Flanders (AN, B 1903, fol. CCXIIv).

74 AN, B 1903, fol. CCXIIIv; doc. 163.

75 Archives nationales, LL 111, p. 295.

76 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 193. The latter choirboy is also called Jacquet le Fevre, Hannotin le Fevre, Haquinet le Fevre, and Haquinet le Charpentier.

77 Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 296; doc. 165.

78 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 240; doc. 167; not 1417 as given in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 137.

79 ACO, B 1601, fol. 42 [XLII].

80 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 244.

* * * * *

In the summer of 1415, John the Fearless determined to transform his skeleton chapel into a permanent, polyphonic choir. Why the duke of Burgundy, in the midst of hostilities with the Armagnacs and the English, decided to reinstitute a large musical chapel at the court of Burgundy is not certain. Perhaps the fact that John was barred from Paris at this time and unable to utilize the chaplains of the Sainte Chapelle and of Dauphin Louis of Guienne compelled him to hire his own complete chapel. Whatever the reason, John engaged a number of talented singers and composers during the summer and fall of 1415. An ordinance of 5th November 1415 provides the names of the singers:⁸¹

Chaplains

Étienne des Mares [first chaplain]

Nicolas Grenon

Thomas Hoppinel

Jean Maroinne

Pierre Fontaine

Noël Poignart

Guillaume Ruby

Pierre Godefroy

Robert Vaille

Guy Jouisse

Cardinet de Bellengues

Jean Doré

Vincent Tresmois

Jean Hanet

Jacques Hanart

Jean Bourgeois

Clerks [choirboys]

Jean Dupuy

Jean Pousset

Michelet Despeaux

Jean le Fevre

81 Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 189.

John seems to have drawn his new singers from the area of northern France and French-speaking Flanders. For example, Étienne des Mares, who had earlier served as chaplain to both Duke Philip the Bold and King Charles VI, was a canon in the villages of Aire and Lens, near Lille, in 1414 and in September of that year was provided by the duke of Burgundy with a farm north of Lens.⁸² Pierre Fontaine, Jean Doré,⁸³ Guillaume le Rouge (or Ruby), and Richard (or Cardinet) de Bellengues⁸⁴ all came from the diocese of Rouen and may have acquired their musical training at the cathedral of Rouen. Guillaume le Rouge, in fact, had received lessons on the organ at the cathedral in 1399.⁸⁵ Noël Poignart, listed as a vicar at the church of le St. Sépulcre in 1412,⁸⁶ and Thomas Hoppinel, named as vicar at the church of St. Mederic in 1405 and then as «magister puerorum cantus» at the cathedral of Notre Dame from March 1410 until late June 1415,⁸⁷ had obviously both been active in Paris before joining the Burgundian chapel.

At the time the new chapel was being organized in the summer and fall of 1415, John the Fearless was enjoying one of his rare sojourns in the duchy of Burgundy. After news had reached the duke that the English had defeated a predominantly Armagnac force at the battle of Agincourt (25th October 1415), John and his supporters rode north from Burgundy to lay siege to Paris.⁸⁸ He

82 AN, B 1904, Nos. 54031 and 54033. Étienne des Mares called Potage was retained as first chaplain on 23rd August 1415 (AN, B 1904, No. 54095).

83 A papal document, dated 30th March 1420, lists both Pierre Fontaine and Jean Doré as being from the diocese of Rouen (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» p. 453). Fontaine apparently owned property in Rouen which was confiscated by the English under Henry V in 1418 (Vautier, *Extrait du registre*, p. 18).

84 The epitaph of Richard de Bellengues, once found in the church of Ste. Gudule in Brussels, says that he was born in Rouen in 1380 (Rombauts, *Bruxelles illustrée*, I, 316, and II, 82-83).

85 Collette and Bourdon, *Orgues*, pp. 11-12.

86 Archives nationales, LL 111, p. 104. In 1405, Noël Poignart was a chaplain at Duke John of Berry's collegiate church Sainte Chapelle in Bourges (Lehoux, *Jean de France*, III, 32, n. 6).

87 Archives nationales, LL 109b, p. 468; Archives nationales, LL 110, p. 508; and Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XXIXv. Thomas Hoppinel was the first master of Notre Dame to observe the *Doctrina pro pueris Ecclesiae Parisiensis* issued by the chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson, circa 1408. This ordinance defined the type of music that the master could teach his choirboys: «Magister cantus statutis horis doceat pueros. Planum cantum principaliter, et contrapunctum, et aliquos discantus honestos; non cantilenas dissolutas, impudicasque, nec faciat eos tantum insistere in talibus, quod perdant in grammatica profectum» (*Johannis Gersonni... opera omnia*, IV, col. 717; cited in Chartier, *Ancien Chapitre*, p. 66, n. 1). In March 1414, Thomas Hoppinel was granted a canonicate at the church of St. Jean-le-Rond in Paris (Archives nationales, LL 111, p. 305). On 21st August 1415, Hoppinel is listed as absent from the cathedral, and it must have been around this time that he entered the chapel of Burgundy (Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XXXIII).

88 See Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp. 422-423; and Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 208-210.

took with him in his army only a few «chappelains des basses messes;»⁸⁹ the full complement of chapel singers was ordered to remain in Burgundy with Duchess Margaret of Bavaria who was to pay them as part of the expenses of her hotel. Compared to the compensation that singers had received under Duke Philip the Bold, the rewards were small: the first chaplain was paid eight sous daily; the fifteen other chaplains each were allotted six sous; and the four choirboys, or clerks as they were now called, each received four sous. The singers did, however, enjoy «livree de bouche» at the ducal table.⁹⁰

When the unsuccessful siege of Paris had terminated early in 1416, John the Fearless commanded his *sommelier de corps*, Jean de Lachenel,⁹¹ to return to Burgundy, gather the «gens de chapelle» and the accoutrements of the chapel, and conduct them to his court in Flanders.⁹² The furnishings, books, and ornaments of the chapel were apparently shipped in wine barrels for want of better conveyances. When the singers reached Flanders, they were supplied with new robes and four new coffers made of Danish wood to replace the barrels.⁹³ The robes, or «houplandes,» of the men were blue with large, open sleeves and decorated with silk buttons.⁹⁴ In the fall of 1416, the vestments of the chaplains were overlaid with a cloak of black squirrel fur and those of the choirboys with a covering of black wool.⁹⁵ The cost of the robe given each chaplain was about thirty francs, less than half of what it had been during the reign of Philip the Bold.

The refurbishing of the livery of the singers of Burgundy in the fall of 1416 may have been motivated by the impending meeting of John the Fearless with Henry, king of England, and Sigismund, king of the Romans, set for October of that year. The chapel of Burgundy certainly was part of the brilliant escort of eight hundred which accompanied the duke of Burgundy to this parley in Calais.⁹⁶ Although the events of the covert conference are little known, we may suppose that there was opportunity for further exchanges between English and Burgundian musicians. Moreover, there is reason to believe that John's singers may have enjoyed the company of the Austrian composer and plagiarist Oswald von Wolkenstein, since Oswald was a member of King Sigismund's suite at that time.⁹⁷

89 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 29.

90 Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 189.

91 See above p. 86, n. 12.

92 Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 296.

93 ACO, B 1601, fol. 95 [CI].

94 AN, B 4088, fols. VIxxv-VIxxI.

95 AN, B 4089, fols. CXVv-CXVIIv.

96 D'Avout, *Querelle*, p. 244.

97 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, «Wolkenstein.»

The singers of the chapel of Burgundy remained in the retinue of John the Fearless in northern France and Flanders throughout 1417. During the Easter season of 1418 they were in the town of Troyes, and on Easter Day a chaplain, Jean Bonne, helped «play and show in the presence of the Queen [Isabel] and of my said lord of Burgundy, *le Mystere de la Resurrection nostre Sire.*»⁹⁸

In May 1418, John and his court travelled to Montbéliard to meet again with King Sigismund.⁹⁹ Here another of Sigismund's courtiers, Antonio Tallander, thought by some to be the composer «Tailhandier» named in the Apt and Chantilly 564 MSS,¹⁰⁰ observed the chapel of Burgundy and wrote to King Alfonso V of Aragón that it was «the most sumptuous chapel that I have ever seen, and the best dressed and furred.»¹⁰¹ That same May, after the forces of the duke of Burgundy finally succeeded in storming Paris, John the Fearless commenced a triumphant procession from Dijon to the capital. At Troyes, the populace welcomed him «with great joy by dancing and making fires in the streets, by sounding organs, harps, and other instruments of celebration.»¹⁰² On 14th July 1418, John made his reentry into Paris accompanied by the sounds of the instruments of minstrels and trumpeters and by the singing of carols in all quarters.¹⁰³

The retaking of Paris by the army of John the Fearless had a significant impact on the personnel of the Burgundian chapel. Just four days after he entered the city, John appointed Jacques de Templeuve to serve again as first

chaplain.¹⁰⁴ Jacques de Templeuve had been held prisoner by the Armagnacs during John's absence from the capital because he was known to have been a «serviteur» of the court of Burgundy.¹⁰⁵ To recompense him for his losses and discomfort during his imprisonment, John gave the first chaplain two hundred francs.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, on 1st September, perhaps because he now had control of the royal treasury, the duke decreed that henceforth the compensation paid the singers would be at the same rate that it had been under his predecessor Philip the Bold: accordingly, the first chaplain's pay was raised from eight to thirty-two sous daily; the chaplains' from six sous to sixteen; and concomitantly, the chaplains ceased to receive their board in the ducal hotel.¹⁰⁷ The global sum John anticipated spending for his chapel during the fiscal year beginning 1st September 1418 was 7,353 francs, six sous, eight deniers.¹⁰⁸

There were other financial benefits which accrued to the chapel members when the duke of Burgundy ruled Paris. The week after John gained the city, his chaplain, Pierre Godefroy, was rewarded with a prebend at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois;¹⁰⁹ on 5th October Rogier Bréauté, a *sommelier* of the chapel, was named chaplain of the chapels of St. Pierre and St. Étienne in the cathedral of Notre Dame;¹¹⁰ five days later Jacques de Templeuve was provided with a canonicate at Notre Dame;¹¹¹ and on 21st October Caisin Dupuy, the former choirboy, was likewise received as a canon of the cathedral.¹¹² Secular control evidently afforded ecclesiastical control as well.¹¹³

98 Bibl. nat., CB 104, fol. 207v; doc. 169. Jean Bonne, a priest from the diocese of Autun, is listed as the «maistre d'escole en gramare» of the choirboys of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris in 1395 and given thirteen francs by Duke Philip the Bold to help the boys «faire leur feste le jour des Inocens» (ACO, B 1501, fol. 41 [XLI]). In May 1400, he is also named as a chaplain at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois (Archives nationales, LL 393, fol. XLI), and in 1403 he is described as «magister artibus actuque stud. Parisius in fac. theol.» (Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium*, IV, 82). Jean Bonne was recompensed forty francs in June 1415 for having helped to present *jeux de la nativité St. Jehan Baptiste* before Dauphin Louis of Guienne in the Louvre (Thomas, «Dauphin Louis,» p. 374). See also Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, p. 357; and Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel*, p. 298.

99 Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 255.

100 Anglés, *Historia*, p. 300. For another possible identity for the composer «Tailhandier,» see Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music: Critical Text*, p. 62.

101 Bofarull y de Sartorio, «Tres cartas autógrafas,» p. 12: la plus riche capella que james je aza vist e lo mils vestu e areat. See also Finke, «Bilder vom Konstanzer Konzil,» pp. 94-96. Antonio Tallander, who had been in the service of the house of Aragón since the 1390's, temporarily joined the retinue of King Sigismund early in 1416. While in Montbéliard, John the Fearless gratified Tallander with fifty-eight *livres*, four groats (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 228).

102 *Chronique anonyme*, p. 258: on faisoit très grand joie de dansser et faire feux parmy les rues, de sonner orghes, harpes et aultres instrumens dont on se poroit resjoir.

103 Petit, *Itinéraires*, p. 443; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 446; and Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, I, 399.

104 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 119. The accounts are silent as to whether the previous first chaplain, Étienne des Mares, had died or was simply released.

105 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 232.

106 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 232. The date of this allocation was 26th July 1418 (not 1417 as given in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 134). Jacques de Templeuve had maintained contact with the court of Burgundy in the years following the death of Philip the Bold. In 1409, for example, he was called before the duke to verify an inventory of the jewels and furniture left by Philip (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 258), and in 1411 and 1412 he was given horses so that he might come to court when the duke so desired (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 137; and ACO, B 1572, fol. 30v). At that time, Jacques was serving as a canon in the cathedral of Chartres (Pirro, «Gilles Mureau,» p. 163; and Aubrée, *Mémoires*, II, 93) and is listed as a canon of the cathedral of Cambrai (AN, 4 G 6789).

107 Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 290.

108 Of these 7,353 francs, 540 were to be used to purchase liveries (Bibl. nat., CB 21, fol. 54v).

109 Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 250.

110 Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. CVII. Rogier Bréauté is listed as a clerk of matins at the cathedral in June 1414 (Archives nationales, LL 111, pp. 356 and 358). He died on 24th October 1418, two weeks after receiving his chaplainry in Notre Dame (ACO, B 1601, fol. 42v [XLIIv]).

111 Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. CVIIv.

112 Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. CVIII.

113 Nicolas Grenon continued to hold a canonicate at the church of le St. Sépulcre in Paris in 1418 (ACO, B 1601, fol. LXXIXv).

Difficult times again befell the Burgundian singers early in 1419 when John, pressed on all sides by the English and the Armagnacs, abandoned Paris. The members of the chapel apparently were left in the city to suffer from the «chaos, turmoil, and deprivation» experienced by the citizens of the capital at that time.¹¹⁴ By Easter, 16th April 1419, however, the singers had joined the duke of Burgundy and the king and queen of France at their temporary headquarters in Provins.¹¹⁵ Shortly thereafter, John awarded the men an extraordinary gift of five hundred and forty francs as compensation for the «great losses and damages which they have had and sustained in loss of horses as much as in the very high cost of their living necessities which they have had since the last departure of my said lord from the city of Paris.»¹¹⁶ The chaplains and *sommeliers* who shared in this payment were:

Chaplains

Jacques de Templeuve [first chaplain]
 Nicolas Grenon
 Jean Brunel
 Bernard de Montigny
 Pierre Godefroy
 Thomas Hoppinel
 Robert Vaile
 Pierre Fontaine
 Cardinet de Bellengues
 Jean Doré
 Fremin le Vasseur
 Jacques Hanart
 Jean Hanet
 Jean de Reyneval
 Jean du Passage

Sommeliers

Pierre Bonsaux called Provins
 Jean Jouffroy
 Raoul Guéroust called Millica
 Jean de la Tour

114 Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 270. The chronicler Jean le Fèvre says of the conditions in France in 1418-1419: «In this time all the realm was in division, and by consequence in great desolation; and neither justice nor reason reigned there, and the people were robbed on all sides» (*Chronique*, I, 324-325: En ce temps tout le royaume estoit en division, et par conséquent en grant désolacion; et n'y regnoit justice ne raison, et le peuple estoit desrobés de tout costez).

115 Petit, *Itinéraires*, p. 446.

116 ACO, B 1601, fol. 59 [LX]; doc. 170.

The three choirboys of the chapel, Jean Pousset, Michelet Despeaux, and Jean le Fevre, apparently remained in the capital as «*escoliers*.»¹¹⁷

Five of the new additions to the chapel in 1417-1419 had been active in Paris before their engagement at the Burgundian court. Fremin le Vasseur is listed as a canon at the cathedral of Notre Dame in March 1401 at which time he was also serving as chaplain to Duke John of Berry.¹¹⁸ Bernard de Montigny was likewise employed in the chapel of the duke of Berry at the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁹ Between 1401 and 1404, he also advised and executed some of the reparations of the organs of the cathedral of Paris.¹²⁰ Both Bernard and Fremin probably entered the chapel of Burgundy after the death of John of Berry in 1416. Jean Brunel (or Brunet) was one of the clerks of the Sainte Chapelle of Paris in 1410¹²¹ and Jean de la Tour held a similar position at this collegiate church in 1418.¹²² Jean Augustin du Passage, a tenor from the town of Besançon, had been serving as *sommelier* in the chapel of King Charles VI prior to joining the chapel of Burgundy on 14th April 1419.¹²³ If Philip the Bold hired his chapel personnel primarily from the court of Flanders and the papal court of Avignon, John the Fearless drew many of his singers from the musical institutions of Paris.

* * * * *

When the Armagnacs finally lured John the Fearless to his death on the bridge of Montereau on the afternoon of 20th September 1419, the singers of the chapel were not among the retinue of one hundred which John had in his company, for they had been left behind for safe-keeping in the town of Troyes, on the border of Champaign and Burgundy. Upon learning of the murder of the duke the following day, the chapel commenced to celebrate «*le service divin des*

117 ACO, B 1601, fol. 42v [XLIIv].

118 Archives nationales, LL 109a, p. 137; Archives nationales, KK 254, fols. 64v-65; and Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 6751, fol. 7v. In 1405, Fremin le Vasseur is listed as a canon at John of Berry's collegiate church Sainte Chapelle in Bourges (Lehoux, *Jean de France*, III, 32, n. 5). He died on 16th February 1440 and was interred in the cathedral of Amiens where he was serving as a canon (Rodière, *Épitaphier*, p. 42).

119 Archives nationales, KK 254, fols. 44, 52v, and 106.

120 Archives nationales, LL 109a, p. 142; and Archives nationales, LL 109c, p. 601; see also Mirot, «Autour De La Paix d'Arras,» p. 261, n. 1; and Lehoux, *Jean de France*, III, 32, n. 5. For more on Bernard de Montigny, see below pp. 119-121.

121 In 1409-1410, Jean Brunel was paid for having purchased costumes to perform *les jeux de la Resurrection* in the palace of the king (Leber, *Collection*, p. 188). He died on 6th July 1419 (ACO, B 1603, fol. 16v [XIIIv]).

122 Brenet, *Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 28. Jean de la Tour replaced the deceased Rogier Bréauté as *sommelier* of the chapel on 28th January 1419 (ACO, B 1601, fol. 42v [XLIIv]).

123 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 6748, fols. 192v and 195. Jean Augustin du Passage was retained as chaplain on 14th April 1419 (ACO, B 1601, fol. 42v [XLIIv]).

trespasses» for the salvation of the departed soul.¹²⁴ Then the singers rode south to Dijon to join the entourage of Duchess Margaret. A funeral service for the deceased prince was held in the Sainte Chapelle of Dijon on 11th October 1419, with the duchess and the members of her household in attendance. Around the mock corpse¹²⁵ were placed four candles, each weighing six pounds, and surrounding the great altar of the church were forty-five torches, each bearing the coat of arms of the duke.¹²⁶ The service of the dead was performed by the chapter of the Sainte Chapelle, because it held the rights of interment over the body of its deceased parishioner, even though it was less proficient musically than the duke's private chapel.¹²⁷ On 16th October, Duchess Margaret, recognizing that the singers of John's chapel had received no wages since the death of the duke and were anxious to return «en leurs benefices»,¹²⁸ gave the chaplains a retainer of two hundred francs to hold them until the new duke, Philip the Good, who was in Ghent, could decide if he wished to retain or dismiss his father's singers.¹²⁹ Six days later, Margaret gave the *sommeliers* of the chapel each seven and a half francs to allow them to go to Flanders personally to petition Philip to be admitted into his service.¹³⁰

These entreaties, however, proved to be in vain: for Philip the Good, like his father and grandfather before him, decided not to support a complete musical chapel at his court in the early years of his rule. Consequently, the chapel that John the Fearless had instituted was disbanded and most of the singers released to return to their benefices or seek positions in other musical institutions. By December 1419, Thomas Hoppinel had gone back to his former post as master of the choirboys at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris.¹³¹ Jean du Passage and Raoul Guéroust were also back in Paris soon after the death

124 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 285.

125 The body of John the Fearless had been hastily buried by the Armagnacs in the cemetery of Montereau and was not recovered until Philip the Good and Henry V captured the town early in the summer of 1420 (Fenin, *Mémoires*, p. 140). On 11th July 1420, the remains were interred in the Charterhouse of Champmol near Dijon (Bibl. nat., CB 21, fol. 53v).

126 Bibl. nat., CB 21, fol. 53v.

127 ACO, B 1598, fol. XIxxXIXv. Another memorial service was held for John at Notre Dame in Paris on 29th September, and there «chantoit on le *Subvenite* des Mors et vigilles à neuf pseualmes» (Bourgeois de Paris, *Journal*, p. 133).

128 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 285; doc. 172.

129 ACO, B 1598, fol. XIIIxxVII.

130 ACO, B 1598, fols. XIIIxxVI-XIIIxxVIv.

131 Archives nationales, LL 297, fol. 1; cited in Chartier, *Ancien Chapitre*, p. 70. Thomas Hoppinel remained at Notre Dame during the years 1419-1425. In 1425, he was taken into the chapel of the regent of France, John, duke of Bedford, the younger brother of Henry V and patron of John Dunstable, in order to serve as confessor to the chaplains of the regent who spoke only French (Archives nationales, LL 113, fol. 13v; cited in Pirro, *Musique à Paris*, p. 35). In 1435, Hoppinel again returned to Notre Dame as master of the choirboys, though his stay this time seems to have lasted only two years (Chartier, *Ancien Chapitre*, p. 71).

of John, both having entered the chapel of King Charles VI.¹³² Pierre Fontaine and Jean Doré decided to try their fortunes in Italy and by 30th March 1420 were inscribed as singers in the chapel of Pope Martin V.¹³³ Within a few years, Nicolas Grenon, who had returned to Cambrai for a short time after the death of John the Fearless to serve as master of the choirboys,¹³⁴ as well as Jean du Passage, who had left the royal chapel after the death of Charles VI in 1422, and Richard de Bellengues had also joined the papal choir.¹³⁵

Many of John's erstwhile singers were again called to the court when his successor, Philip the Good, reinstated the Burgundian chapel in the early 1430's. Jacques de Templeuve was again appointed first chaplain,¹³⁶ and Pierre Fontaine,¹³⁷ Richard de Bellengues,¹³⁸ Jean de la Tour,¹³⁹ Jean du Passage,¹⁴⁰

132 Douët-d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces inédites*, I, 443-444. In 1386-1387, Philip the Bold had paid Raoul Guéroust twenty francs «pour un livre qu'il a presentement escrit» (ACO, B 1465, fol. 101; cited in Dehaisnes, *Histoire*, II, 632). Between 1438 and 1445, he was a member of the papal chapel (Haberl, «Römische 'schola cantorum',» pp. 221-224).

133 Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» p. 453. For more on Jean Doré, see Dubrulle, «Curie romaine,» p. 292.

134 Grenon is listed at Cambrai in 1421 and 1423 (CBM, 1056, fols. 98v and 125).

135 Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» pp. 453-456.

136 AN, B 1942, fol. 27; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 170-171. Jacques de Templeuve maintained a part-time association with the court of Burgundy during the 1420's in the capacity of *conseiller* and *maître des requêtes* of the duke. In 1420, Templeuve was involved in a dispute over an unnamed prebend which was carried to the French parliament (Fauquembergue, *Journal*, I, 338-339; see also II, 34-35). In 1431, he was appointed provost of Normandy in the cathedral of Chartres (Dubrulle, «Bénéficiers,» XXXII, 108). He also held a canonicate at the cathedral of Cambrai from 10th March 1400 until 24th March 1432 (CBM, 1046, fol. 127). On 13th October 1434, he was reappointed to a canonicate at Cambrai (CBM, 1046, fol. 123), but in 1435 he relinquished this benefice to become a canon of Ste. Waudru in Mons and provost of the churches of that town (Devillers, *Chartes*, III, 194-195). He died in 1436 (Devillers, *Chartes*, III, 197). The testament of Jacques de Templeuve, dated 27th April 1434, shows that he ended his days a wealthy man. By 1434, Jacques had acquired three manors—one of which included two tennis courts—and various lands in and around the town of Chartres which he ceded to the cathedral in order to provide for a memorial service to be sung annually on the anniversary of his death and to endow the choir to sing an *Inviolata* and a *De profundis* each Saturday after compline in the nave of the church (Archives d'Eure et Loire, G 1468; cited in Clerval, *Ancienne Maîtrise*, p. 158; an earlier will, dated 23rd April 1423, is printed in Merlet, *Cartulaire*, pp. 231-232). Likewise, Jacques de Templeuve and his brother Guillaume founded masses for their souls in the cathedral of Amiens. Philip the Good waived the antimortmain statutes to allow this latter endowment in September 1438 (AN, B 1682, fols. XXIIIv-XXIII).

137 Pierre Fontaine and Jacques de Templeuve were the only members of the chapel of Burgundy to serve Philip the Bold, John the Fearless, and Philip the Good. Pierre Fontaine, who was at the court of Pope Martin V from 1420 until 1428 (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» pp. 453 and 456), had apparently returned to the court of Burgundy before 1430 (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 165). For information on Pierre's activities at the court of Philip the Good, see Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 166-167. It is possible that Pierre

Tapissier's former pupil Jean Carbonnier, and Grenon's protégé Caisin Dupuy were all named as chaplains. Guillaume le Rouge, who apparently spent most of the 1420's as a canon at the collegiate church Sainte Chapelle in Dijon, was enlisted to serve as first clerk of Philip's chapel.¹⁴¹ Nicolas Grenon, who had left the Curia and returned to Cambrai by 1428, also sang with the chapel of Philip the Good in the 1430's, though his service, like that of his colleague from Cambrai, Guillaume Dufay, was always in the capacity of a temporary visitor to the court. It should be pointed out that Grenon and his fellow composer Guillaume le Rouge had longer professional careers than is generally believed. Grenon did not die or end his professional life around 1449 as is usually stated,¹⁴² but can be shown to have been still active in the affairs of the

Fontaine was the «Perrinet l'organiste» listed as a member of the chapel of the court of Orléans in 1455-1456 (Laborde, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, III, 357 and 372-373) and that he, like Guillaume le Rouge, had left the court of Burgundy in 1451 to accept a position under Duke Charles of Orléans (see below p. 109). Pierre Fontaine is called «Perrinet» in the accounts of the court of Philip the Bold (ACO, B 1538, fol. 67 [LXVII]) and in Dufay's chanson *Ce moys de may*; but there is no previous mention of his ever having played the organ and Perrinet was an extremely common name.

138 Richard de Bellengues served Pope Martin V between 1422 and 1425. For information on his activities at the court of Philip the Good, see Marix, *Histoire*, p. 191.

139 Jean de la Tour, who appears to have been a native of Lille (AN, B 1604, fol. 67v [LXVIv]), was master of the choirboys of the court of Burgundy during the 1420's and then served as chaplain in the chapel of Philip the Good until 1464 (Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 160 and 164). During his career, he held many ecclesiastical benefices: he is listed as a canon at St. Étienne in Besançon in 1434 (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 164), of the chapter of Notre Dame of Condé in 1439 (Nelis, *Catalogue*, p. 5), and of the Sainte Chapelle in Dijon in 1440 (ACO, G 1520, fols. 10v and 12v); in 1448 he was appointed to a prebend at St. Pierre in Cassel and at that time is described as the archdeacon of Gray in the diocese of Besançon (AN, 19 G 9, No. 22). The testament of Jean de la Tour, dated 20th September 1464, indicates that in that year he was canon at Ste. Walburge in Furnes and at St. Pierre in Lille, and that he was to be buried near the altar of St. Nicolas in that latter church (AN, 16 G 68, No. 664; partially printed in Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire*, II, 1039).

140 Jean Augustin du Passage, from the town of Besançon and of illegitimate birth, served Pope Martin V from 1426 until 1428 (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» pp. 455-456) and was awarded a benefice at St. Pierre in Aire, near Lille, in 1430 (Dubrulle, «Bénéficiers,» XXXI, 299; see also Dubrulle, «Curie romaine,» p. 387). By the early 1430's, he had reentered the chapel of Burgundy (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 156) and remained there until 1455. In 1454, he received an allotment of wine from the cathedral of Cambrai and is described as «tenoriste de la chapelle du duc de Bourgogne» (Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, p. 246). His illegitimate son, Philippe du Passage, served Philip the Good and Charles the Rash between 1462 and 1477 (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 214; see also Doorslaer, «Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau,» p. 32). For more on Jean du Passage, see Baix, *Chambre apostolique*, p. 358.

141 Between 1418 and circa 1430, Guillaume evidently was a canon at the Sainte Chapelle in Dijon, though by 1431 he had returned to the court (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 138; and Marix, *Histoire*, pp. 140 and 174). For information on the activities of Guillaume le Rouge as clerk and chaplain of Philip the Good, see Marix, *Histoire*, p. 174.

142 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, «Grenon.»

cathedral of Cambrai until the fall of 1456; he died on 17th October of that year.¹⁴³ Similarly, Guillaume le Rouge did not end his days in 1451, the year in which he was replaced in the chapel of Burgundy, as is usually supposed.¹⁴⁴ Instead, le Rouge left the court of Burgundy to accept a position in the chapel of the poet-prince, Duke Charles of Orléans, where he served until at least 1456.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Grenon and le Rouge appear as exact contemporaries: both enter our history in the year 1399 and disappear in 1456.

The chapel of John the Fearless differed from that of his predecessor Philip the Bold in degree but not in kind: both dukes drew their singers mainly from northern France and the Low Countries and both required them to perform the mass and canonical hours daily as part of a display of ducal devotion. To be sure, the chapel of Philip the Bold was exceptional in its size and sartorial excellence, surpassing the chapels of the king of France and the popes of Avignon, and rivalled only by the choirs of three great cathedral churches of northern France: Notre Dame of Chartres, Notre Dame of Paris, and Notre Dame of Cambrai.¹⁴⁶ The chapel of John the Fearless was neither so large nor

143 CBM, 1059, fol. 239v. Our knowledge of Grenon's activity thus falls between 1399 and 1456, and not 1385 and 1449 as given in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

144 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, «Rouge.»

145 The chapel of the art-loving Charles of Orléans seems to have been entirely overlooked by music historians. This prince, the patron of François Villon, displayed a love of luxury at an early age when, in 1414, he ordered that the notes of the chanson *Madame je suis plus joyeux* be fashioned on the sleeves of his robe in pearls; five hundred and sixty-eight pearls were required to represent the one hundred and forty-two notes of the chanson (Laborde, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, III, 267). In 1455 and 1456, Charles's chapel comprised fifteen singers: messire Nicole, Guillaume le Rouge, Étienne le teneur, Guillaume le Groing [or le Grain], messire Mathieu, messire Thomas le jeune, messire Jacques, messire Jean Croquemeure, messire Jean Paulmier, Perrinet l'organiste, Piefort, Johannes Roullin, Pierre Billart, Charlot Guiart, and Janvier (Archives nationales, KK 271, fol. 23v). Besides Guillaume le Rouge, there appears to have been at least two other composers in this group. Pierre Billart was probably the «Billart» named as the composer of the motet *Salve virgo virginum* in the Canonici 213 MS (fols. 114v-115), while Guillaume le Groing (or le Grain) may have been the composer Guillaume le Grand (or le Gran). Billart was still at the court of Orléans in November 1464 when he was paid fifteen sous for having purchased four pairs of eyeglasses for the duke (Laborde, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, III, 397). Guillaume le Grand (Guillermus Magnus), whose works are preserved in at least five manuscripts of the fifteenth century (Canonici 213, fols. 94, 96v-97, 104v-107, and 111v-112; Aosta, fols. 63-64 and 99v-102; Bologna Q 15, fols. 56v-59; Trent 92, fols. 74v-75; and Buxheimer, No. 113), was a singer in the chapel of Pope Martin V between 1418 and 1421 (Haberl, «Römische 'schola cantorum',» p. 220, n. 1; and Schuler, «Kapelle Papst Martins V,» p. 40). After his departure from the Curia, Guillaume apparently resided in Rouen (Archives nationales, LL 116, p. 611; cited in Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 66). The papal documents show his true name to have been Guillaume Lemacherier (Berlière, *Diversa cameraria*, p. 26; and Schuler, «Kapelle Papst Martins V,» p. 40).

146 The forces employed to sing the divine service at these cathedrals in the 1390's were as follows: Notre Dame of Chartres supported thirteen «heuriers» and six to eight choirboys; Notre Dame of Paris maintained seventeen or eighteen «clercs de

so richly maintained as Philip's; and although after 1415 John supported about fifteen singers (the duke of Berry had thirteen in 1416;¹⁴⁷ the king of France had seventeen in 1422),¹⁴⁸ no such sumptuous liveries and extraordinary gifts as had flowed from the hand of Philip were forthcoming from him. What the chapel of John the Fearless lacked in size and conspicuous display, however, it made up for in quality. The fact that the members of John's chapel were received into many of the great choirs of the era after his death—into those of the king of France, the pope, and the cathedrals of Paris and Cambrai—attests to their musical talents. The composers Nicolas Grenon, Pierre Fontaine, Richard de Bellengues, Guillaume le Rouge, Jean François, and Jean Tapissier were all, at various times, associated with the chapel of Burgundy under the second duke: few contemporary rulers could boast of having as many creative musicians at their court. Yet John the Fearless and his father before him undoubtedly conceived of and encouraged the music of the chapel not as a creative art form—as music for the sake of music—but simply as an adjunct to the liturgical service, designed to create a splendid effect and thereby increase their stature in the estimation of their peers and in the eyes of their Creator.

matines» and eight choirboys; and Notre Dame of Cambrai had thirteen «petits vicaires» and six choirboys (Clerval, *Ancienne Maîtrise*, p. 40; and Pirro, «Exécution,» p. 56).

147 Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 841, fol. 190.

148 Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1296.

The Organists of the Court

Blending with the voices of the singers of the chapel of Burgundy were the sounds of the chapel organ. The interest in organ music at the court commenced shortly after Philip the Bold began to engage singers for his private chapel in the mid-1380's; prior to that time the organ was almost entirely absent from the Burgundian musical scene. The first record we have of an organ purchased for the chapel dates from May 1388:

To sire Clément Petit, first chaplain of the king our lord, for an organ that my said lord [of Burgundy] has purchased from him; this organ my said lord has made put and left in his hôtel d'Artois in Paris by sire Jehan de Chartres, his first chaplain. By mandement of my said lord, certification of said sire Chartres given 13th May 1388.... C fr. (ACO, B 1475, fol. 60v [LXv]; doc. 68)

It is not surprising that Philip the Bold turned to Clément Petit to buy an organ: Clément had served as organist and chaplain to three generations of Valois kings and had been with Philip and his father John II during their captivity in England (1357-1360).¹ The high cost of Philip's new instrument (one hundred francs) and the fact that it had been «put and left» by Jean de Chartres in the chapel of the hôtel d'Artois indicate that this was a large positive organ rather than a small portative one.

The organist of the court who had charge of this new instrument was Jean Ondanch. We have mentioned that Jean, likely a Fleming from the town of Ondank a few miles south of Bruges, was retained as a clerk of the chapel on 10th August 1384, and that in April 1386 he was given six francs «pour apprendre à jouer des orgues.»² By April 1391, he had acquired several benefices in the church of St. Basile in Bruges, notwithstanding «defectu natalium,»³ and in October of that year was elevated from clerk to chaplain of the chapel.⁴ In November 1388, Jean Ondanch supervised the purchase of another organ for

1 It was Clément Petit who had led the chapel of King Charles VI to Cambrai for the wedding of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria in June 1385 (ACO, B 1465, fol. 96v [IIIxxVIv]). We know that the chapel of the king, and not the chapel of Burgundy, was called upon to perform at the wedding service and that they «molt bien canterent à me messe» («Mémoires de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubert de Cambrai,» p. 539). See also above p. 15.

2 ACO, B 1465, fol. 102 [CII]; doc. 58.

3 Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, pp. 674 and 702.

4 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 104. Jean Ondanch apparently was a scribe as well as an organist; in 1385 he received ten francs for a «livre de processions» he had prepared for the chapel (ACO, B 1462, fol. 124v [VIxxVv]), and in 1388 he was given twenty francs for «I petit livre d'oroisons» that he had made and that Duke Philip wished to have to carry on his person (ACO, B 1469, fol. 36 [XXXVI]). In 1387, Jean Ondanch purchased a house

the duke; this one, «unes orgues portatives,» was bought from Pierre Donne-dieu, a scribe living in Paris, at a cost of thirty-four francs.⁵

It was also the responsibility of Jean Ondanch to oversee the transportation and maintenance of the organs in his charge. In January 1389, he was given six francs «for the portage of the large organ of my said lord that my said lord had had carried from Montbard to Dijon.»⁶ From this and later entries, we can deduce that Philip the Bold also kept a large positive organ in the chapel of the ducal palace in Dijon and occasionally required that it be brought before him when he sojourned in his other hotels in Burgundy. Where and at what price this instrument was acquired is not known. The portative organ that Jean Ondanch had bought for Philip in November 1388 was transported from Paris to Villaines, in Burgundy, early in 1389; an order of payment of 11th February shows that Jean Ondanch had engaged two valets to carry the instrument the one hundred and fifty miles to Villaines and made certain that it was protected by a sheet of oilcloth during the trip.⁷

When Philip wished to attend the celebration of the divine service in a church which was not furnished with an instrument, he instructed his organist to transport one of the chapel organs to that church. On several occasions in 1391, for example, Jean Ondanch was charged to convey an organ from the hôtel d'Artois in Paris to the church of Philip's patron saint, St. Anthony, on the eastern outskirts of the city.⁸ (Philip gave the church of St. Anthony in Paris one hundred *écus* and attended mass there on his birthday, St. Anthony's Day, 17th January, when he was staying in the capital.)⁹ In June 1392, a ducal organ was carried to the church of Notre Dame in Douai,¹⁰ and the following August an instrument was moved from the duke's hotel in Hesdin to the nearby abbey of Dom Martin and back.¹¹

In August 1393, Philip the Bold ordered that another portative organ be bought; this time the purveyor was Pierre de Pacy, dean of the cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris:¹²

and lands in Ghistelle, near Bruges (AN, B 4075, fol. 67), and by 1403 had amassed prebends in Bruges, Seclin, Termonde, Hekelgem, and Lille (Tits-Dieuaide, *Lettres de Benoît XIII*, p. 89). He was buried in St. Donatien in Bruges, and the anniversary of his death was marked with a service each year on 3rd January (Gilliodts-Van Severen, «Obituaire de Saint-Donatien,» p. 328).

5 ACO, B 1469, fol. 61 [LXV].

6 ACO, B 1475, fol. 26 [XXVI]; doc. 70.

7 ACO, B 1475, fol. 89 [IIIxxIX]; doc. 71.

8 ACO, B 1487, fol. 37 [XXXIX]; doc. 84.

9 Picard, *Dévotion*, pp. 21-23.

10 ACO, B 1495, fol. 50v [Lv]; doc. 91.

11 ACO, B 1495, fol. 95 [IIIxxXV].

12 Pierre de Pacy had been appointed dean of Notre Dame in February 1385; he was also serving at that time as a canon in the church of St. Quentin in the diocese of Noyon (*Gallia Christiana qua series omnium archiepiscoporum*, I, 472). In 1356, this ecclesiastic had donated eighty crowns for the benefit of the six choirboys of St. Quentin (Raugel, «Notes,» p. 52).

To master Pierre de Pacy, dean of the church of Paris, councillor of the king our lord, which was due him for the sale and deliverance of a portative organ which my said lord had taken and purchased from him to put in his chapel of his hôtel d'Artois in said place of Paris and to transport it to the other hotels of my said lord being in said place of Paris and thereabouts, to play before him on the solemn feast days. Just as it is constituted by mandement of my said lord given in Paris 3rd August 1393, certification of said sire Jehan de Chartres and on this quittance.... LX livres of Tours.

(ACO, B 1500, fols. 157v-158 [VIIxxXVIIv-VIIxxXVIII]; doc. 92)

That this organ was to be played «on the solemn feast days» indicates that it was intended primarily for use by the ducal chapel. It is not certain whether it was this instrument or another that Philip took with him to Boulogne in May 1394¹³ and then to Angers, in Brittany, in the fall of that year;¹⁴ while in Boulogne the duke made a payment of twenty-two sous, six deniers, to two varlets who had «soufflé les orgues aux festes sollennelles.»¹⁵

Sometime during the last years of the fourteenth century, Philip the Bold engaged an organ maker in Ghent to construct a large positive organ for his hôtel de Conflans in Paris. By the spring of 1400, work was completed, and Jean Ondanch was sent from Paris to Ghent to inspect the instrument and supervise its portage back to Paris. Because of the large size of this instrument—twelve laborers were needed to hoist it—and the extreme delicacy of its construction, special precautions were taken to transport it carefully. The organ was conveyed by boat from Ghent to Valenciennes under the watchful eye of the builder and then carried from Valenciennes to Paris. The organ-chest was wrapped in oilcloth and then covered with a large white sheet on which was fashioned the ducal coat of arms. Twenty-eight of the larger pipes of the instrument were removed and packed in two newly-made coffers lined with cloth. The bellows were placed in protective sacks and the keyboard was secured by a special lock. During the journey from Valenciennes to Paris, the organ was tied by ropes of hemp and suspended from three pine timbers which were carried on the shoulders of twelve varlets. To cushion the ride further, pillows were placed between the pine timbers and the shoulders of the bearers, and each man was supplied with special shoes. Both parts of the journey, from Ghent to Valenciennes and from Valenciennes to Paris, took ten days. The technical information contained in the order of payment for the transport of this organ is such that it must be given in full:

13 ACO, B 1501, fol. 67 [LXVII].

14 ACO, B 1501, fol. 70 [LXX]; doc. 99.

15 ACO, B 1501, fol. 67 [LXVII]; doc. 97.

To sire Jehan Ondanch, chaplain of my said lord, to whom has been due by my said lord the sum of CIII *livres* XVI sous of Paris, for several expenditures made by him, for having led and brought, as much by water as by land, from the city of Ghent to Paris, and from there to the hotel of my said lord at Conflans, an organ that he had made recently in said place of Ghent....

For XIII ells of linen cloth to cover the said organ, II sous of Paris the ell, XXVIII sous of Paris. Item, for XXIII pounds of wax to wax said cloth, at III sous of Paris the ell, LXXII sous of Paris. Item, for XIII ells of white cloth to cover said organ above said linen cloth, at a price of III sous of Paris the ell, LVI sous of Paris. Item, to cut, sew, and arrange the II copes of said cloth and linen cloth to cover this organ, XLVIII sous of Paris. Item, for sacks to envelop the bellows of said organ, XII sous of Paris. Item, for the salary of a builder, of his valets and of a boat to have led by water, from Ghent to Valenciennes, said organ, as a gratuity to him by said Jehan Ondanch, by the master who had made said organ, X *livres* XVI sous of Paris. Item, for the expense of said master of this organ and of two of his valets who brought it from Ghent to Valenciennes, by X days that they remained on the water, C sous of Paris. Item, for two reinforced coffers to put the XXVIII largest pipes of said organ and for linen cloth to envelop them, XLVIII sous of Paris. Item, for III timbers of pine to carry said organ, VI sous of Paris, for rope of hemp to carry said organ, VI sous of Paris. Item, for II escutcheons with the arms of my said lord, VI sous of Paris. Item, for a lock supplied with a key to secure the keyboard of said organ, VI sous of Paris. Item, for XII cushions to put at the end of said timbers to support the shoulders of the companions who carried said organ, XVIII sous of Paris. Item, for the pain and salary of XII large valets who carried said organ from Valenciennes to Paris, to each of them, III *écus*, as a gratuity, XXXII *livres* VIII sous of Paris. Item, for XII pairs of shoes for the XII large valets above said, III sous of Paris the pair, XLII sous of Paris. Item, for the expense of these XII large valets, of said master of the organ and of his valet, by X days while coming from said Valenciennes to Paris, to each of them by day, III sous of Paris, XXVIII *livres* of Paris. Item, for the dinner at the departure of said valets so that they had a 'bon voyage,' XXIII sous of Paris. Item, to make carried said organ from the hôtel d'Artois to Conflans, XX sous of Paris. Item, as a gift made by my said lord to the master who made said organ, X *écus*, IX *livres* of Paris, to whom sire Jehan had already given, by ordinance of my said lord, LX gold *écus* of the king, which value LIII *livres* of Paris. Just as these things are more plainly declared in a roll of parchment, amounting to the sum of CIII *livres* XVI sous of Paris.... Given at Conflans-lès-Paris 29th October 1400; here rendered in court with another letter of my said lord of said proxy, given at Paris 19th August 1400, with two quittances sufficient on this CIII *livres* X sous of Paris. (ACO, B 1519, fols. 254v-255 [XIIxxXIVv-XIIxxXV]; doc. 123)

When the organ reached Paris, it was taken first to the hôtel d'Artois, probably for ducal inspection, and then carried to its resting place in the hôtel de Conflans, a few miles east of the city. Although we do not know the name of the builder of the instrument or its price, the account does reveal that the cost

alone of transporting this large positive organ from Ghent to Paris was more than one hundred francs.

After the newest organ had been installed in the hôtel de Conflans in 1400, an older instrument which had served this hotel until then was brought to the hôtel d'Artois in order to contribute to the music-making planned for the impending Christmas season there. Apparently the older instrument had fallen into disrepair, for the organist of Queen Isabel, Antoine de Lens (Eslen),¹⁶ was summoned to put it in working order:

To Anthoine Eslen, clerk of the chapel of my lady the queen, maker of organs, which was due him for having repaired an old organ that we have had brought from our hôtel de Conflans to Paris in our said hôtel d'Artois, for the feast of Noël recently past, XIII fr. of Paris.... [Certification] of our first chaplain on the repair of said organ.... given in Paris 25th January 1401 [n.s.].... XIII fr.
(ACO, 33 F 54, liasse, no folio; doc. 125)

The tuning of the chapel organs was usually done by Jean Ondanch himself. There is no evidence of an outsider executing this sort of work except in 1395 when Regnault Fresnel, the organist of the cathedral of Notre Dame, was called to the hôtel d'Artois to tune the organ of the chapel and to repair the bellows and fifteen pipes:

To Regnaut Fresnel, for having made just the tone of the organ of the chapel of my said lord, take out the wind-chest to fix fifteen pipes and the bellows anew in this organ and to tune them. By mandement of my said lord the duke, given 28th December 1395, and quittance with certification of sire Jehan de Chartres, first chaplain of my said lord.... XXIII francs.
(ACO, B 1503, fol. 185 [IXxxV]; doc. 105)

Since the order of payment is dated 28th December, we can assume that this organ, too, was made serviceable in preparation for Christmas.

The organs of the chapel of Burgundy were played during the sacred services of the court presumably in place of, in alternation with, or as accompaniment to, the voices of the ducal singers. Although we have no indication as to what specific pieces may have been performed, the two surviving manuscripts

16 The royal accounts record the following payment made to Antoine de Lens (Eslen) in December 1398: «To Antoine de Len, player of the organ living in Paris, for an organ completely new which may be locked with a key, wrought, arranged, and mounted well and sufficiently. Just as it appears taken and purchased from him 24th December [1398], for the chapel of the queen, for this XXXI *livres* X sous of Paris» (Archives nationales, KK 41, fol. 188: A Antoine de Len, joueur d'orgues demourant à Paris, pour uns orgues tous neufs et fermans à clef, ferrez, ordonnez, et enchassiez bien et suffisamment. Ainsi comme il appartient prins et achetez de lui le XXIIIe jour de decembre [1398], pour le fait de la chapelle de la royne, pour ce XXXI *livres* X sous parisis).

of fourteenth-century keyboard music show that masses and motets were part of the keyboard *répertoire*.¹⁷ Besides being sounded in the chapel, some of the organs of the court of Burgundy were heard at secular entertainments as well. The organist who performed during these lighter diversions was Jean Visée of Flanders, a man whose record at Burgundy is somewhat obscure but who nevertheless appears to have been an important musician of the time.

We know that the reputation of Jean Visée as a keyboard virtuoso had spread as far as the court of Aragón, for in 1388 King John I of Aragón wrote to his uncle, Philip the Bold, asking that Jean Visée be released from the court of Burgundy and sent to his own court at Zaragoza. The initial letter, which was delivered by one of John I's minstrels named Henequin and which refers to Jean Visée as «un bon ministrer flamench appellat Johan dels orguens,»¹⁸ did not succeed in dislodging Jean from the Burgundian service, so that King John was compelled to send a second letter to Philip:

My dear brother. According to what we have heard say, you have among your minstrels one who is skilled at playing the *echiquier* and the portative organ. And desiring to have him in our service, we beg you affectionately please to send us directly this minstrel who is named Johan dels orguens and who is the brother of our minstrel Gilabert.... And if by chance said Johan is not with you, we beg you dear brother to send for him so that he may come to our court, because we will give him the same emoluments that we give the other minstrels of our house.... Given at Zaragoza under our secret seal, the 13th day of September, the year 1388.

When this epistle failed to bring the coveted organist to the Aragonese court, King John I dispatched a third letter, this one to Ramón de Perellos, viscount of Roda, asking him to act as an intermediary in the acquisition of «Johan dels orguens:»

Viscount.... Apart from this, do what is necessary so that our brother of Burgundy will cede to us Johan del orguens, brother of Gilabert, and treat with said Johan in a manner that he will enter our service, because we will give him the same emoluments that we give to our other minstrels, and so that he will bring with him his *echiquier* and portative organ. And if said Johan is not with the duke, have him write to him so that we can have him directly.... And tell said Johan to bring the book in which he has notated the «*estempides*» and the other works that he knows how to play on the *echiquier* and organ.

17 The Robertsbridge fragments (see above p. 16) contain intabulations of three Latin motets, while the codex Faenza 117 (see Plamenac, «Keyboard Music») preserves a free variation on the Kyrie of Gregorian Mass IV (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*).

18 This and the following two letters are printed in the original Catalan in Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 64-67; see also Pedrell, «Jean I d'Aragon,» pp. 231-232.

In 1389, John I wrote yet another letter to the same viscount in which he mentions that he had sent one of his minstrels of the shawm (probably the aforementioned Henequin) to Flanders in search of the elusive Johan dels orguens «who is the most capable minstrel of the organ that one can find.»¹⁹

There can be little doubt that the «Johan dels orguens» whom King John I so fervently wished to lure from his uncle the duke of Burgundy was indeed the Jean Visée of Flanders at the Burgundian court. The brother «Gilabert» mentioned by John I as then serving at the Aragonese court was certainly the organist Guillebert Visée who had belonged to the household of King Charles V and had entertained the courts of Berry and Burgundy during the 1370's. In 1375, the following payment was made by Philip the Bold:

To Gilebert, player of the organ, who had played before the king, as a gift made to him this time by special grace, XII francs.... By mandement of my lord without other quittance given at Villepèque 24th July 1375.... XII francs.
(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxIIIv; doc. 14)

In 1378, Guillebert Visée travelled to the court of Berry in Bourges and performed before Duke John on the organ and the *vielle*:²⁰

To Gilbert Visay, minstrel of the king, who came to Bourges before my lord [of Berry] and played the organ and the *vielle* before him, as a gift made to him by my said lord. Given at Bourges 7th November 1378.... XX fr.²¹

As the letters of John I of Aragón show, Guillebert Visée had left the Valois court, possibly after the death of Charles V in 1380, and by at least 1388 had been taken into the Aragonese service. He was still there in 1390,²² but by 1391 he had returned to Paris to the court of the French king, for the same year «Guilabert, menestrer des orgues» of King Charles VI was paid twenty florins for having played before Charles III of Navarre.²³

19 The letter is printed in Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 72.

20 In February 1371, John of Berry paid one hundred *livres* to «messire Jehan de Tournay, maistre des orgues» for having brought to the court of Berry «III paires d'orgues» (possibly three two-manual organs or three organs each with two ranks of pipes) and having tuned and repaired these three instruments (Archives nationales, KK 250, fol. 31 [XXXI]).

21 Archives nationales, KK 252, fol. 169: A Gilbert Visay, menestrier du Roy, qui vint à Bourges devers monseigneur et joué des orgues et de la *vielle* devant lui, pour don de mondit seigneur fait à lui. Fait à Bourges VII^e jour de novembre, 1378, XX fr.

22 Anglès, «Cantors und Ministrers,» p. 65.

23 Anglès, *Historia*, p. 250; see also Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 25.

The earliest mention of Jean Visée at the court of Burgundy appears in an account of 1385-1386 and shows that Jean had helped to oversee the transport of an organ apparently made in Bruges, from Bruges to the ducal hotel in Arras. The order of payment describes how the instrument was sent over water from Bruges to Douai via Damme and Ghent, and then carried by eight varlets from Douai to Arras:

To master Jehan Visée, master of the organ of my said lord, [who] is in Bruges, the parts which follow: to bring [an organ] by water, by rivers, to Arras; first for X pounds of cotton, at VII sous the pound, worth III livres X sous; for XVIII ells of oilcloth, VI livres VI sous. Item, for portage, XXX sous. Item, to wrap and envelop it, VI sous; for ropes, XXIII sous. Item, for III leather skins, XII livres XII sous. Item, to bring it from Bruges to Damme, X sous. Item, for portage, XII sous. Item, to bring it from Damme to Ghent, III livres XII sous. Item, for portage, VIII sous. Item, more for portage, VIII sous. Item, to bring it from Ghent to Douai, XIII livres VIII sous. Item, to carry it from Douai to Arras with VIII valets, for III days each, at XII sous each day, worth XIII livres VIII sous. Item, for small things, XXXIII sous. Item, for the expenses of said master Jehan and his valet, made by XX days at XX sous each day worth XX livres. Amounting these parts to.... IIIxxI livres II sous. (1385-1386)²⁴

If Jean Visée did indeed finally enter the service of the insistent John I of Aragón in the fall of 1388, as several writers believe,²⁵ his stay at Aragón must have been very brief, for a payment made to Jean Visée by Duchess Margaret shows that Jean was in the duchy of Burgundy in March of 1389 and that he was then sent from Burgundy to Flanders:

To Jehan de Visey, formerly organist of my lord the count of Flanders, as a gift made to him by my lady the duchess this one time by special grace to aid him to pay his expenses while going from the country of Burgundy into the country of Flanders, for this paid to him. By mandement of my said lady given 29th March 1389 [n.s.]... X francs. (ACO, B 1474, fol. 39v [XXXVIIIv]; doc. 72)

This and the preceding order of payment show that Jean Visée had formerly been organist to Louis of Male, count of Flanders, and that he was paid the sizeable wage of twenty sous per day by Philip, but had to support his personal valet from that sum. Between 1390 and 1398, Jean Visée drew eighteen livres of

Paris each year as his pension from the ducal taxes raised in the bailiwick of Damme.²⁶

The letters of King John I of Aragón show that Jean Visée performed on the echiquier as well as the organ. Philip the Bold had apparently become acquainted with this novel instrument while a captive in England.²⁷ In 1376, he awarded six francs to «un menestrier qui avoit joué de l'eschiquier» before him.²⁸ After Jean Visée had entered the Burgundian service, following the death of Louis of Male in 1384, Philip found it necessary to purchase his own echiquier:

To Dom Gilles de Rouais, religious of the church of Saint Martin of Tournai, for an instrument called the echiquier which my said lord has had purchased from him and put in his chapel.... XII fr. (ACO, B 1462, fol. 127 [VIxxVIII]; doc. 55)

It was evidently on this echiquier as well as the ducal organs that Jean Visée played the estampies and other works that were notated in his music book. Significantly, this echiquier and the ducal organs—in sum, all the keyboard instruments of the court—appear to have been housed in the chapels of the various ducal hotels. By 1400, in addition to his echiquier, Philip had acquired two organs for the hôtel d'Artois, one of which was a positive, as well as positive organs for his hotels at Conflans, Dijon, and Arras, and a number of portative organs, at least one of which always accompanied him when the court was in transit.

* * * * *

The taste for organ music exhibited by Duke Philip the Bold evidently was not shared by his son and successor, John the Fearless. During the early years of John's reign, when the personnel of the Burgundian chapel was pared to a minimum, the court of Burgundy appears to have been without a resident organist. In 1413, it was apparently necessary to call the organist of Queen Isabel, Jean Poncin, to the court to perform and help «faire le service divin» before the duke,²⁹ just as it was necessary to borrow the singers of Dauphin Louis of Guienne for the ducal chapel at that time.³⁰ Finally, in 1416-1417, John the Fearless decided to engage Bernard de Montigny as chaplain and organist for the chapel of Burgundy.

26 Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 51. The seal of Jean Visée affixed to a quittance for his pension of 1398 is preserved in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels and is reproduced in Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, II, 30, figure 7.

27 See above pp. 16-17.

28 ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXIII; doc. 17.

29 Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 115; cited in Pirro, *Musique à Paris*, p. 30.

30 See above p. 91. Jean Poncin received a royal payment in December 1416: «To sire Jehan Poncin, chaplain of the queen, which said lady had ordered paid to him to purchase some strings for the echiquier and harps of the queen.... VII sous» (Archives

24 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, *Comptes du bailliage de Bruges*, 18th September 1385-8th January 1386 [n.s.]; printed in Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 50-51. A shorter version of this order of payment appears in AN, B 4075, fol. 87, and is printed in Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 50; in Pinchart, *Archives des arts*, I, 6; and in Laborde, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, I, 6-7.

25 Rokseth, *Musique d'orgue*, pp. 13-14; Anglès, «Cantors und Ministrers», p. 65; and Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, VII, 72.

Bernard de Montigny had been the organist of John's uncle, Duke John of Berry, since at least 1400. Entries in the accounts of the court of Berry record some of Bernard's activities during that year:

To master Bernart de Montigny, the 18th day of January recently passed [1400 n.s.], VI *écus* to repair the organ of the chapel of Nesle.³¹

To master Bernart, chaplain of my lord, as money rendered to him which he has given, by commandment of my lord, to two poor men who have carried the portative organ of my lord from Rouen to Andelys, the 7th day of said month [of January, 1400 n.s.].³²

To him [Pruce, knight of my lord] to pay his expenses and expenditures while going from Poitiers to Bourges to fetch the master of the organ, the 30th day of said month of November [1400]... LXXVII s. VI d. of Tours.³³

Between 1401 and 1406, Bernard de Montigny was consulted on the installation and reparation of the organs of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris,³⁴ and in

nationales, KK 49, fol. 37v: A messire Jehan Poncin, chapellain de la royne, que la dicte dame lui avoit donné estre baillé pour acheter des cordes pour l'eschiquer et harpes de la royne.... VII sous). The preceding year, Jean had said his first mass before the queen (Archives nationales, KK 49, fol. 6). In July 1416, he was paid eighteen sous «for his expenses to have gone from said Saint Germain to the Bois de Vincennes to fetch and bring back the organ of the chapel of this lady» (Archives nationales, KK 49, fol. 19v: pour ses despens d'avoir esté dudit Saint Germain au Bois de Vincennes querre et faire venir les orgues de la chappelle d'icelle dame). The following March, 1417, Jean Poncin was reimbursed sixteen sous «which he had paid with his own money to carry and carry back several organs, those of said lady as well as those borrowed in diverse places» (Archives nationales, KK 49, fol. 48v: qu'il avoit païé du sien pour le portage et raportage de pluseurs orgues tant de ceulx de la dicte dame que d'autres empruntees en divers lieux).

The organist of Dauphin Louis of Guienne at this time was Jean Chabarquez who is listed in an account of 1414-1415 among this young prince's chamber valets as a «joueur et faiseur d'orgues» (Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1136).

King Charles VI employed Jean Girardon called «des Orgues» as his organist at this time. In 1418, he was one of the canons of Notre Dame who swore allegiance to John the Fearless (Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, p. 381). His will is listed in Tuetey, *Testaments*, p. 265.

31 Archives nationales, KK 254, fol. 44: A maistre Bernart de Montigny, le XVIIIe jour de janvier derrenierement passé [1400 n.s.], VI escuz pour faire appariller les orgues de la chapelle de Neelle.

32 Archives nationales, KK 254, fol. 52v: A maistre Bernart, chapellain de monseigneur, pour argent à lui rendu qu'il a donné du commandement de monseigneur, à deux povres hommes qui ont apporté les petites orgues de monseigneur, de Rouen à Andeli, le VIIe jour dudit mois [de janvier, 1400 n.s.].

33 Archives nationales, KK 254, fol. 106: A lui [Pruce, chevaucheur de monseigneur] pour faire ses fraiz et despens en alant de Poitiers à Bourges querir le maistre des orgues, le XXXe jour dudit mois de novembre [1400], LXXVII s. VI d. t.

1405 is named as a canon of the Sainte Chapelle of Bourges.³⁵ In the spring of 1414, Bernard was again called to Notre Dame, this time to inspect the work that Regnault Fresnel had done on the new organ of the cathedral.³⁶ Bernard, who is still listed as chaplain and organist of John of Berry at the time of the duke's death in June of 1416,³⁷ shortly thereafter joined the court of Burgundy. Although the Burgundian accounts are silent in regard to Bernard's activities as an organist at Burgundy, he undoubtedly played, repaired, and transported the ducal organs, just as he had done at the court of Berry. After the murder of John the Fearless in September of 1419, Bernard de Montigny left the court of Burgundy and travelled to Troyes, where, between 1419 and 1421, he installed an organ in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul.³⁸

As for the acquisition of organs for the court of Burgundy under John the Fearless, the accounts show an organ was repurchased by the duke in January of 1418:

To Jehan Joffroy, clerk of the chapel of my said lord, the sum of six francs given to him by commandment and ordinance of my said lady the duchess, to repurchase and retake his organ which the almoner of this lady had engaged, just as my said lord, by his closed letters, has written to my lady. For this by mandement of this lady given 29th January 1418 [n.s.]; here rendered with quittance of said Jehan Gief-froy.... VI fr.

(ACO, B 1594, fol. VIIIxxXVIII; doc. 168)

In contrast to the munificent sums dispensed by Philip the Bold to buy organs, this meager outlay of six francs appears as the sole expenditure for keyboard instruments for the court of Burgundy made during the reign of John the Fearless.

34 Archives nationales, LL 109a, fol. 142; and Archives nationales, LL 109c, p. 601.

35 Lehoux, *Jean de France*, III, 32, n. 5.

36 Mirot, «Autour De La Paix d'Arras,» p. 261, n. 1.

37 Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 841, fol. 190.

38 Archives de l'Aube, G 1561; cited in Pirro, *Musique à Paris*, p. 21, n. 3.

Harpers, Chamber Valets, and the Court of Love

There were other musicians at the court of Burgundy besides the organists, the singers of the chapel, and the minstrels. We have mentioned that Philip the Bold retained an English harper for his court in 1375 and that this performer, Gautier l'Anglais, had probably travelled to the continent in the entourage of John of Gaunt to display his talents at the peace conference of Bruges (March-June 1375).¹ During the three years he served Philip the Bold, Gautier received numerous small gifts to pay for shoes, clothing, and other necessities;² and in August of 1375 he was allotted thirty francs «pour acheter une rote pour jouer devant monseigneur.»³ Subsequent to his departure from the Burgundian court, Gautier unwittingly became involved in a nefarious plot to poison the king of France. The details of this bizarre incident are recorded in an affidavit sworn by Gautier's valet and apprentice, Robert de Wordreton, before the king's councillors in March 1385.⁴

Gautier l'Anglais had left the court of Burgundy sometime after 1st November 1378 and had eventually returned to England. In September 1384, he decided to embark on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostela with his wife and his apprentice Robert de Wordreton. The trio left London and travelled to Boulogne to attend another Anglo-French peace conference (the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester were again meeting with the dukes of Burgundy and Berry) in order to obtain a safe conduct into Spain. In Boulogne, the harper performed before the courts of Burgundy and Berry for a week and was rewarded with twelve francs by Philip and twenty francs by John. From there, Gautier, his wife, and his valet journeyed to Calais, Paris, Bourges, Lyon, Avignon, Montpellier, and into Aragón, playing before various lords, including the king of Aragón, along the way. Difficulties forced the party to return to the province of Navarre where they entertained the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad, for several days.⁵ Soon the king of Navarre, having learned that Gautier planned to return to Paris, engaged Gautier's apprentice to poison the king of France and the dukes of Burgundy and Berry with arsenic. The plan miscarried, however, as the valet Robert de Wordreton was apprehended in Paris before he

1 See above p. 31.

2 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 79v; ACO, B 1444, fol. IIIxx; ACO, B 1445, fols. IIIxxv and IIIxxXVv; and ACO, B 1454, fol. 81.

3 ACO, B 1445, fol. LXXI; doc. 15.

4 Robert de Wordreton's confession is preserved in British Museum, Egerton 3509, and in a manuscript at the Archives nationales in Paris (printed in Secousse, *Recueil de pièces*, pp. 494-503). Egerton 3509 is translated in Bertram Schofield's «The Adventures of an English Minstrel and his Varlet,» pp. 365-376.

5 Anglés, *Historia*, pp. 226 and 230.

7. Three-voice chanson *Tout par compas* by Baude Cordier (Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564, fol. 12).

could conceal his poison in the food of the princes of the royal blood. Robert was beheaded, his body quartered and carried to the four gates of the capital, his head on the point of a lance.⁶ His master, Gautier, eventually was exonerated and by the following year had been taken into the service of John of Aragón.⁷

The adventure of Gautier l'Anglais and his valet demonstrates that the harpers of the late Middle Ages had ready access to the private chambers of the rulers of the period. In this era, the harp seems to have enjoyed the same status that the lute was to acquire a century later: it was the instrument heard by princes and kings during their most intimate moments. At the court of Burgundy, the player of the harp held a position distinct and separate from the minstrels of the court. Unlike these instrumentalists, the harper was not sent to the schools in the Low Countries, nor was he periodically given leave to perform at other courts; moreover, he was the only musician at Burgundy, excluding the ducal trumpeters, to be supplied with armor in times of war. The reason for these exceptions seems clear: the harper was meant to accompany the duke everywhere he went, even on the field of battle.

On 10th January 1384, Philip the Bold hired Baude Fresnel to serve as his personal harper.⁸ Baude (Baudet or Baudenet) Fresnel came from the town of Rheims,⁹ though he apparently joined the court while in Paris. He was retained at a daily wage of eight sous and was furnished with a valet and two horses; he also enjoyed lodging and «livree de bouche» in the duke's hotel.¹⁰ Philip the Bold evidently considered Baude Fresnel to be an artist of distinction because Baude, unlike the harper Gautier l'Anglais, was allowed to add the coveted title «valet de chambre de monseigneur» to his appellation.

The position of chamber valet at the court of Burgundy was prestigious because it was exclusive. Each of the Burgundian dukes engaged one or two craftsmen in the various arts, about a dozen in all, to serve as his chamber valets. The group included musicians, painters, sculptors, tailors, tapestry makers, goldsmiths, and lapidaries. Although the financial rewards extended to the chamber valets were no larger than those received by the other artisans of the court, the title of chamber valet signified that the bearer was recognized as the most skilled craftsman the duke could find in that particular art.¹¹ The composers Jean Tapissier, Jacques Vide, and Hayne van Ghizeghem, the sculptor Claus Sluter, and the painter Jan van Eyck were a few of the chamber valets who served the dukes of Burgundy during the long history of the court.

6 For other contemporary accounts of this incident, see Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 57; and Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique*, I, 354.

7 Rubió y LLuch, *Documents*, II, 290-291. Gautier l'Anglais was still in the service of John I of Aragón in 1392 (Baldelló, «Música en la casa de los Reyes de Aragón,» p. 50).

8 Bibl. nat., CB 25, fol. 24; doc. 40; and ACO, B 1461, fol. 118 [CXXVII]; doc. 41.

9 Baude Fresnel is often called «Baude de Rains» or «Baude Fresnel de Rains.»

10 ACO, B 395, liasse, no folio.

Baude Fresnel was a chamber valet, harper, and occasional diplomat to Philip the Bold for almost fifteen years. We see him in Philip's company at Chalon in the summer of 1388¹² and again in Milan in the spring of 1391;¹³ he followed Philip and King Charles VI into Brittany in August 1392 and was part of the retinue present in Le Mans when Charles VI was seized in a frenzy and attacked his own attendants.¹⁴ In 1394, Baude was sent with three other men on a mission to the duke of Brittany «to treat with the duke about important things... and present him with some wine of Burgundy, some falcons, and some tapestries of Flanders.»¹⁵ When he married in the fall of 1395, he received two hundred francs from Philip as a wedding present.¹⁶ Baude Fresnel died in 1397-1398, leaving behind a wife and young daughter.¹⁷

The many payments made to purchase harps for Baude Fresnel suggest the relative value of this instrument in late-mediaeval times. Between 1385 and 1394, Baude was authorized to buy at least seven different harps to play before the duke: one in 1385, one in 1389, one in 1392, and four in 1394.¹⁸ The prices of these instruments varied from twenty to sixty francs. (A good horse at the time cost thirty francs, a sturdy house about one hundred francs.) The harp purchased in May 1392 at a cost of fifty francs, for example, was «une grande harpe double, ouvree bien richement de bois,»¹⁹ whereas the harp Baude had in his possession in the spring of 1395 was decorated with wood carvings and had gold tuning pins and four rows of strings.²⁰ The previous year he had purchased a harp by order of the duke and presented the instrument to the organist of the chapel, Jean Ondanch.²¹ Baude Fresnel also seems to have been an organist, for in 1388 he was given a portative organ valued at eighty francs to play before the duke:

11 Chamber valets did not necessarily have easier access to the duke's person than the other members of the court. Artists like Claus Sluter, Jean de Beaumetz, and Jean Malouel who were working on the statuary and altarpieces for the Charterhouse of Champmol, near Dijon, only had occasion to see the duke when Philip or John sojourned in their duchy.

12 Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. frç. 3589, No. 30.

13 ACO, B 1487, fol. 84; doc. 85.

14 ACO, B 1500, fol. 80 [IIIxx].

15 Bibl. nat., CB 65, fol. 57v; doc. 95.

16 ACO, B 1503, fol. 106 [CVI]. He also was apparently given an additional thirty francs on the day of his wedding to purchase silverware (ACO, B 1511, fol. 153 [VIIxxII]).

17 ACO, B 1526, fol. 97v [CIIIv]. Baude's wife had remarried by February 1402.

18 ACO, B 1462, fol. 88 [IIIxxVIII]; ACO, B 1479, fol. 142v [LIIv]; ACO, B 1495, fol. 81 [IIIxxI]; doc. 89; ACO, B 1499, fol. LXIII; doc. 94; ACO, B 1500, fol. 80v [IIIxxv]; ACO, B 1502, fol. LVv; and ACO, B 1508, fol. 124v [VIxxIIIv].

19 ACO, B 1495, fol. 81 [IIIxxI]; doc. 89.

20 ACO, B 1503, fol. 120v [VIxxv].

21 ACO, B 1508, fol. 124v [VIxxIIIv]; doc. 98.

1388. To Guiot Fresnel, living in Paris, which was due him for a portative organ to play before my lord and which the said lord has taken and purchased from him and had delivered to Baudenet de Rains, his harper and chamber valet. By mandement of my said lord, certification of said Baudenet on the reception of the organ and quit-tance of said Guiot.... IIIIxx francs.
(ACO, B 1469, fol. 61 [LXI]; doc. 67)

The «Guiot» Fresnel in question here was Regnault Fresnel, likewise of Rheims and likely a brother to Baude. As noted above, Regnault Fresnel was called to Philip the Bold's hôtel d'Artois in Paris in 1395 to tune the organ of the chapel.²² He served as organist at the cathedral of Notre Dame from 1st July 1392 until his death sometime before 10th April 1415.²³

The successor to Baude Fresnel as harper to the duke of Burgundy was Guillaume Dancel. Guillaume had joined the court by July of 1400 and served until the duke's death in 1404, though he was never honored with the title of *valet de chambre*.²⁴ After 1404, Guillaume was taken into the household of King Charles VI and listed as «cithariste regis.»²⁵ Guillebert de Metz confirms that at this time Guillaume Dancel was one of the two «souverains harpeurs.»²⁶

Besides Baude Fresnel, there were two other musicians who held the title of chamber valet under Philip the Bold. One, Cassin Hullin, was hired on 30th December 1387 to serve as «chantre» in the ducal chapel.²⁷ Since Cassin was not a priest, he was ranked among the clerks of the chapel and, because of his official status as chamber valet, he was always dressed in a livery which differed in color from that of the other singers. Although information on Cassin is scanty,

22 See above p. 115.

23 Raugel, *Grandes orgues*, p. 80; and Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XXIII. The registers of Notre Dame contain many references to Regnault Fresnel of Rheims in regard to the reparations of the old organ of the cathedral and the maintenance of the new organ installed between 1402 and 1406 (Archives nationales, LL 109c, p. 600; and Archives nationales, LL 111, pp. 151-152 and 315; see also Mirot, «Autour De La Paix d'Arras,» p. 261, n. 1). Regnault was succeeded in 1415 by Henri de Saxonnia (Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XXIII).

24 AN, B 3330, fol. IIcVIII; and ACO, B 1538, fol. 137 [VIxxXVII].

25 Archives nationales, KK 16, fol. 83.

26 Metz, *Description*, p. 233. The other royal harper at this time was Perrin de Sens. Whether Perrin de Sens was Pierre Gobert, the harper to whom the count of Savoy sent a young boy to be apprenticed in 1411 and 1412 (see Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 89), or Pierre Julien, the harper who purchased a harp worth fifty francs for the king in 1419 and who is still listed in his service in 1422 (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *France gouvernée par Jean sans Peur*, pp. 128, 228, 258, and 348; and Fauquembergue, *Journal*, II, 85), is uncertain. The confusion is further compounded by the fact that there was also a Colin Julien employed as a harper at the royal court at this time. He repaired the harp of Queen Isabel in 1403 (Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 382), served as harper to Duke Louis of Guienne in 1415 (Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1444), and again worked for Queen Isabel in 1416 and 1418 (Archives nationales, KK 41, fols. 117v and 180v).

27 Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 72v.

we know that he was married in the fall of 1395 and received a wedding gift of one hundred francs from the duke.²⁸ He disappears from the Burgundian records in 1396.

The other musician engaged by Philip the Bold as a chamber valet was Jean Tapissier. Tapissier's real name was Jean de Noyers, and he was likely from the town of Noyers, situated in northern Burgundy near Montbard.²⁹ Since he was a composer, we may conjecture that Jean de Noyers chose the sobriquet «Tapissier» to indicate that he was a weaver of musical lines. Jean de Noyers called Tapissier first appears at the Burgundian court early in 1391 when he made up part of the retinue which accompanied Philip the Bold into northern Italy to the city-state of Milan. Philip travelled to Lombardy at this time to treat with the lord of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti, on the subject of a planned invasion of Italy by an army of Charles VI to establish French control of the peninsula and forceably install the Avignon Pope Clement VII in Rome.³⁰ The ducal cavalcade left Dijon on 15th February 1391, arrived in northern Italy on 1st March, and remained there for three weeks.³¹ Upon leaving Lombardy, Philip and his court headed for Avignon for consultation with Pope Clement VII, arriving there on 3rd April.³² It was during his five-week stay in Avignon (3rd April to 5th May) that Tapissier undoubtedly had contact with the music and musicians of the papal choir. The order of payment which documents Jean Tapissier among the court personnel who journeyed with Philip to Milan and Avignon in the spring of 1391 reads as follows:

To Jehan de Noyers called Tapissier, chamber valet of my lord, as a gift made to him by my said lord for the same costs and expenditures sustained by him in said voyage from Lombardy. By mandement given 24th July 1391.... XX francs.
(ACO, B 1487, fol. 91 [IIIIxxXIII]; doc. 87)

28 ACO, B 1511, fol. 57v [LVIv].

29 The task of gathering biographical information on Jean de Noyers called Tapissier is made difficult by the fact that there was a second Jean de Noyers active in court and ecclesiastical affairs in Paris at this time. This second Jean de Noyers appears as a chaplain at the Sainte Chapelle in 1385 and after 1401 served as chaplain and then canon at Notre Dame. In 1385, he is named as an executor of the testament of canon Jean Roussel at the Sainte Chapelle, and in 1401 his name appears next to Nicolas Grenon's in the registers of the cathedral. However, this second Jean de Noyers died in March 1415 (Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XXVII; his will is printed in Tuetey, *Testaments*, pp. 568-575), whereas the composer Jean de Noyers called Tapissier can be shown to have been dead before August 1410.

30 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 55.

31 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 471.

32 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 472.

Philip the Bold again travelled to Avignon in the spring of 1395, this time to beseech the newly-elected Pope Benedict XIII to renounce his claim to the tiara and thereby facilitate an end to the Schism.³³ We can be certain that Jean Tapissier again went with Philip's court because an entry in the accounts shows that after the ducal train had left Dijon, Tapissier's horse became incapacitated and that Jean was forced to borrow a horse from Baude Fresnel.³⁴ On that occasion, Philip, his chamber valets, his chapel singers, and his other court attendants remained in Avignon for seven weeks, from 22nd May until 11th July 1395.³⁵

There are other sundry references to Jean Tapissier which shed light on this composer's life within the court of Philip the Bold. An order of payment, dated 9th February 1396, shows that Baude Fresnel was again called upon to supply Tapissier with a horse sometime during the fall or early winter of 1395-1396.³⁶ Since this notice is retrospective, we cannot pinpoint where the men were when the order of payment was issued, but it does indicate that Jean Tapissier and Baude Fresnel were frequent riding companions. On 24th October 1396, Tapissier was given one hundred *écus* to help defray the expense he had recently incurred in marrying off a sister;³⁷ and on 8th February 1397 and 31st January 1398 he received extraordinary gifts of thirty *écus*³⁸ and sixty *écus*,³⁹ respectively, though the reasons for these donations are not specified in full. That Tapissier accompanied Philip the Bold into Flanders in the spring and summer of 1399 is documented by an order of payment issued at Hesdin, west of Lille, on 30th May 1399 authorizing a grant of sixty francs to «Jehan le Tapissier, valet de chambre de mon dit seigneur» as compensation for the «bons et agreables services» that he made and continued to make each day.⁴⁰ Two months later, Tapissier was paid for having served Philip in Arras when the duke was taken ill during a sojourn in the town (16th June-16th July):

To Jehan de Noiers called Tappissier, chamber valet of my said lord, to whom said lord, as much for the good services that he had made him as for the great pain, travail, and diligence that he has had during the time of the last illness that my said lord had had in Arras, gives by special grace the sum of C fr.... Given at Hesdin the last day of July, 1399.... C fr.

(ACO, B 1538, fol. 147v [VIIxxVIIv]; doc. 121)

33 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 46-47.

34 ACO, B 1503, fol. 120v [VIxxv].

35 Petit, *Itinéraires*, pp. 242-243; see also ACO, B 1503, fol. 181 [IXxxI]; doc. 102.

36 ACO, B 1508, fol. 117 [CXVI].

37 ACO, B 1511, fol. 56v [LVv]; doc. 109.

38 Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 67.

39 ACO, B 1514, fol. 153 [VIIxxX]; doc. 113.

40 ACO, B 1526, fol. 144 [VIIxxX]; doc. 120.

In December 1399, Jean Tapissier was given a cloak of mink fur valued at thirty-nine francs, five sous, to cover his livery for the winter season 1399-1400.⁴¹ Like the other chamber valets at the court of Philip the Bold, Tapissier was paid a daily wage of eight sous and supplied with two horses and a personal valet.⁴²

The payments made to Jean Tapissier by Duke John the Fearless give a better indication of the services provided by this composer at the court of Burgundy. As mentioned above, he was entrusted in 1406 with the choirboys of Duke John and charged to teach them to sing and in January 1408 ordered to bring his pupils before the duke in Amiens and Arras.⁴³ Letters issued from the Louvre on 6th July 1408 show that he and the ducal chaplain Jean Haussant were each given ten *écus* «for having helped to make the divine service before this lord on many and diverse occasions since the day of Ascension, 1408, until the 6th day of July.»⁴⁴ Given this and the other references to Tapissier, and the fact that the extant compositions of this musician are all sacred works, it seems reasonable to assume that Tapissier worked mainly with the chapel of the court: he served as instructor to the young singers of the chapel; he composed masses and motets for the chapel members to perform; and he often joined with the musicians of the chapel in celebrating the divine service before the duke.

When John the Fearless left Paris in the summer of 1408 to lead his army against the rebellious men of Liège, Jean Tapissier and his four choirboys were evidently left behind in the capital. Although an entry of payment indicates that the composer was still in John's service on 14th September,⁴⁵ by 13th December Tapissier had been replaced as the master of the choirboys of the court.⁴⁶ Presumably Jean Tapissier had died in the fall of 1408 and this necessitated his replacement, though incontrovertible evidence of his passing does not appear before August 1410 when a payment was made to his former pupil Jean Gossuin:

To Jehan Gossuin, clerk of the chapel of this lord, that he gave to him the 19th day of said month of August, to pay a shoemaker to whom he was indebted for a pair of shoes taken by him during the life of late Tapissier when he was in his school of singing, III fr.... By mandement of said lord given in Paris 6th August 1410.... III fr.

(ACO, B 1560, fol. 93 [CI]; doc. 154)

41 ACO, B 1517, fol. 192v [IXxxXIIv].

42 ACO, B 1519, fol. 117 [CXVII]; doc. 112.

43 See above pp. 93-94.

44 ACO, B 1556, fol. 70 [LXVIII]; doc. 143.

45 ACO, B 1554, fol. 208v [IIcv].

46 See above p. 95.

The mention of Tapissier's «escole de chant» in the preceding entry gives rise to the question of this composer's rôle as a musical pedagogue. We know that Tapissier resided in Paris when he was not travelling with the dukes of Burgundy and that between 1406 and 1408 he had charge of the musical education of the Burgundian choirboys. But Tapissier was evidently more than merely a «maître des enfants;» he apparently directed his own school of singing in Paris and in this capacity achieved a measure of renown. Indeed, an insertion in the Bologna Q 15 MS reveals that Thomas Fabri, a composer of a Gloria in that collection, seemingly thought he could enhance his reputation and the appeal of his composition by advertising himself as a «scolaris Tapissier.»⁴⁷ Thomas Fabri in turn became a teacher and director of music; in June 1412 he was appointed choirmaster at St. Donatien in Bruges,⁴⁸ a church in which many famous fifteenth-century composers, including Jacques Vide, Gilles Joye, and Guillaume Dufay, were canons.⁴⁹

The reputation of Jean Tapissier as a teacher, composer, and singer was well established by the beginning of the fifteenth century. The anonymous author of *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, writing around 1400, names Tapissier along with Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut in a list of the illustrious poet-musicians of the then present and recent past.⁵⁰ The familiar lines of the poet Martin le Franc show that Tapissier and his colleagues Jean Carmen and Jean Césarès had astonished all Paris with their music and that their fame was still widespread around 1440:

Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris
N'a pas longtemps si bien chanterrent
Qu'ilz esbahirent tout Paris
Et tous ceulx qui les frequenterrent.⁵¹

What we have gleaned from the Burgundian court records of the activities of Jean Tapissier answers certain questions but poses others. The trips to Avignon and Lombardy made by Philip and his musicians reveal something of the

47 Bologna Q 15, fol. 47v.

48 Straeten, *Maîtres de chant*, p. 10. Three other compositions by Fabri preserved in the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz, Austria, have recently come to light (see *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, B IV³, 77-79). One of these, the motet *Sinceram salutem*, mentions his association with the town of Bruges. Fabri was apparently replaced as choirmaster (succentor) at St. Donatien in 1415 (Schrevel, *Histoire*, p. 121).

49 Foppens, *Compendium*, pp. 116, 136, and 176.

50 *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, pp. 13-14.

51 Borren, *Guillaume Dufay*, p. 53:
Tapissier, Carmen, Césarès
Not long ago did sing so well
That they astonished all Paris
And those who thereabouts did dwell.

manner in which the interchange and interaction of the musical styles of northern France with those of Avignon and northern Italy may have been effected at the end of the fourteenth century. Similarly, the documented presence of Tapissier in Avignon in the years 1391 and 1395 probably explains why the music of this northern French composer is found in the Apt MS, a collection long thought to be a principal source of sacred music for the chapel of the popes of Avignon in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.⁵² Moreover, Tapissier's motet *Eya dulcis adque vernans rosa—Vale placens peroratrix* must now be seen in light of Philip the Bold's multiple attempts to end the Schism. Within the second strophe of the text the triplum voice declares:

Plorat Roma omnis, nos rigemus,
'Tolle scisma,' ad te dirigimus.⁵³

This motet was probably written for the court of Philip the Bold during the 1390's when the duke was most actively supporting a policy of mutual abdication as a means to ending the division of the church.⁵⁴ The mention of a «Phebus» in the motet text may refer directly to Philip himself, since he was sometimes poetically called by that name.⁵⁵

52 See Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, i; Bessler, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, «Apt»; Elling, «Messen,» p. 13; and Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. ix.

53 Canonici 213, fol. 139v:

Rome cries to all, we become resolute,
'Take away the Schism,' to you we direct ourselves.

54 See Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 45-47. The motet *Venite adoremus dominum—Salve sancta* by Jean Carmen also refers to the Schism, though in a somewhat more oblique way. The fifth strophe of the text sung by the motetus reads:

Nunc respice sanctam ecclesiam
Gloriosam per orbem diffusam
Varioso more divideri
Et impia gente derideri.

(Now see the holy Church
Whose glory is spread throughout the world,
In various ways divided
And by impious people derided.)

This motet may likewise have been composed for the court of Philip the Bold at which Carmen was sometimes employed and may have been among the sacred compositions which he copied into one of the music books of the Burgundian chapel in 1403 (see below p. 158). Besides their similar texts, Carmen's *Venite adoremus dominum—Salve sancta* and Tapissier's *Eya dulcis adque vernans rosa—Vale placens peroratrix* both display a tripartite isorhythmic structure in all four voices and begin in C and end in F. These compositions may have emanated from the court of Burgundy as a pair; in Canonici 213 the two motets appear side by side.

55 Peignot, *Catalogue*, p. 47.

Jean Tapissier's demonstrable association with Baude Fresnel and the appearance of both at Avignon in the late 1390's give rise to a thorny question: was the harper Baude Fresnel one and the same as the composer Baude Cordier? The circumstantial evidence for such an identification can be summarized as follows:

1. Baude «Cordier» translated from the French means Baude «string man.» Baude Fresnel was a string man in the sense that he was a harper, and the strings of his instrument were called «cordes.» (Composers who doubled as harpers were not unknown at this time. The composer Richard de Loqueville, for example, served as singer and harper to Philip the Bold's brother-in-law and neighbor, Duke Robert of Bar.)⁵⁶
2. Baude Fresnel must have been an artist of distinction. Of the seven harpers that can be shown to have been at the court of Burgundy at various times during the reigns of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless,⁵⁷ only Baude Fresnel was appointed chamber valet.
3. Baude Cordier's three-voice rondeau *Tout par compas* in the Chantilly 564 MS tells us that Baude Cordier was from Rheims (see plate 7, p. 122). Baude Fresnel was likewise from Rheims and is sometimes called «Baude de Rains.»
4. This same chanson declares that the music of Baude Cordier was known as far as Rome.⁵⁸ Baude Fresnel was present in northern Italy in 1391.
5. The Apt MS, believed to be a major source of polyphony for the papal chapel of Avignon, contains music by Baude Cordier, «Chassa[in],» and «Tapissier.» Baude Fresnel, Cassin Hullin, and Jean Tapissier were the three musicians who served Philip the Bold as chamber valets and all three were in Avignon in 1391 and 1395.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Pirro, *Histoire*, pp. 55-57.

⁵⁷ The other six harpers were Gautier l'Anglais (see above pp. 123-124), Le Poupart and Thomelin (see above pp. 44-45), Jean Martin (see above p. 46), Guillaume Dancel (see above p. 126), and Pierre Provostel. The last named harper apparently is listed in the Burgundian records only in April 1420 when he is described as «jadis harpeur de feu monseigneur le duc [Jean]» (AN, B 1920, fol. IIIxxXIII). Pierre Provostel may have been the harp teacher of young Philip the Good (see above p. 50, n. 195). He may also have been identical to the Perrinet Provostel (Probostel) who was associated with the court of Charles III of Navarre in 1423 and listed in the service of Alfonso V of Aragón from 1427 until 1431 (Anglés, *Historia*, p. 269; and Anglés, «Música en la corte real de Aragón,» pp. 110, 113, and 122-125).

⁵⁸ When Baude Cordier tells us that his music was known as far as Rome, he may not mean Rome, but rather Avignon. To the French princes of the royal blood and the members of their courts, Avignon was considered to be Rome because the French pope in Avignon was thought to be the one true pope and his court the court of Rome. Burgundian personnel are consistently referred to as being at the «court de Romme» when in fact they were in Avignon (see, for example, doc. 100). Baude may simply be saying here that his music was known as far as Avignon, and, as we have said, Baude Fresnel was in Avignon in 1391 and 1395.

⁵⁹ If Baude Cordier was at Avignon in 1395, a conjecture regarding the date and

6. The «Amen» of the Gloria by Cordier found in the Apt MS is almost identical, note for note, to the «Amen» of the Credo by Tapissier which follows it in that manuscript.⁶⁰ At least one of the men was intimately familiar with the work of the other and this may have been because Baude Cordier was Baude Fresnel, the colleague and riding companion of Jean Tapissier at the court of Burgundy.

Sobriquets, anagrams, riddle canons, and the «mannered» notation were all part of the musical scene of the late fourteenth century, in the same way that blazons, mottoes, and symbolic and emblematic devices pervaded the secular courts and knightly orders of the period; the more mediaeval man tried quixotically to recapture the essence and meaning of the archaic code of chivalry in the late Middle Ages, the more importance he placed on artificial devices, on factitious values, and on contrived forms. To learn—as we have

place of origin of the Chantilly 564 MS is possible. Chantilly 564 is a collection of chansons and motets thought to have been compiled in the early years of the fifteenth century in southern France or northern Italy (see Marggraf, «Französischen Chanson,» pp. 24-25; Bessler, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, «Chantilly, Ms. 1047»; and Reaney, «Chantilly,» pp. 81-85). At the front of the manuscript are two chansons by Baude Cordier which are believed to have been added to the volume in Baude's own hand because the man who copied them has taken extreme care to record the pieces in a charming and elegant fashion and because he offers gratuitous biographical information about Baude Cordier (see Bessler, «Chantilly, Ms. 1047,» in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; and Reaney, «Chantilly,» p. 61). If we allow that Baude Cordier was Baude Fresnel and that Baude's two chansons are holographs, then it becomes evident that Chantilly 564 does not date from the early fifteenth century, but must have been compiled before 1397-1398, the time of Baude's death. Since this manuscript may have been written in southern France and has been shown to have had connections with the papal court at Avignon (see Pirrotta, «Il codice Estense lat. 568,» p. 125; and Günther, «Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix,» pp. 69-71), it is possible that the collection was copied or was at least present in Avignon when Baude apparently was there in 1395. (Günther, «Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix,» pp. 78-79, has shown that the manuscript could not have been compiled before 1393.) It was perhaps then, sometime between 22nd May and 11th July, that Baude may have entered his two chansons at the front of the manuscript. The man who copied these two pieces also went through Chantilly 564 adding the names of composers to pieces for which no author's name had been given (see, for example, fols. 34v and 43v). To make these ascriptions, such a person must have been well familiar with French music of the early 1390's. This fact argues both against the putative notion that the two chansons by Cordier were added to the main corpus of Chantilly 564 at a substantially later date and against the possibility that the two chansons by Cordier and the body of the manuscript were copied at two separate locations and then bound together many years later.

⁶⁰ Confer pp. 18 and 67 in Vol. I of Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*; or pp. 53 and 104 in Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*. Besides the similar «Amen» in Cordier's GLORIA and Tapissier's CREDO, both of these works are for three voices, are in quadripartite form, begin in a mensuration of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione imperfecta*, and change to one of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta*, and both conclude on C. The two pieces may have originated as a GLORIA-CREDO mass pair, possibly at the court of Burgundy.

conjectured—that Baude Cordier operated under a professional sobriquet would not surprise. Sobriquets were very much in vogue at the court of Burgundy: Tapissier, Carmen, and Briquet were the pseudonyms chosen by other composers associated with the court around 1400. Cordier himself enjoyed deceptive appearance and fanciful forms, as his well-known chansons in the shape of a heart and a circle canon attest. He was a creator of illusions in an illusory age.

* * * * *

Perhaps as part of this attempt to recapture the spirit of the chivalric code in the late Middle Ages, a *Cour d'Amour* was founded in Philip the Bold's hôtel d'Artois in Paris on St. Valentine's Day, 1401.⁶¹ The Court of Love, an artistic society whose object was to protect and honor the feminine sex through poetry and song, was headed by a *prince d'amour* and twenty-four ministers who met on the first Sunday of each month to hear and judge the «dits amoureux» submitted by the several hundred members of the society. On St. Valentine's Day each year, the group would gather in the church of Ste. Katherine-du-val-des-écoliers in Paris to hear «a mass with music, with sounds of the organ, with chant and discant;»⁶² and it donated sixty *livres* of Paris to that same church to found «a mass which will be said and celebrated with music, solemnly, with deacon, subdeacon, and cantor, with sounds of the organ and discant, each Monday of the year between IX and X hours.»⁶³ Each member of the Court of Love was charged to cultivate the qualities indispensable for a true «amant,» many of which have been enumerated for us by Duke Charles of Orléans in his *Poème de la prison*:

Le sixiesme point et le derrenier
Est qu'il sera diligent escollier,
En aprenant tous les gracieux tours,
A son povoir, qui servent en amours,
C'est assavoir à chanter et dansser,
Faire chançons et balades rimer,
Et tous autres joueux esbatemens.⁶⁴

61 The charter of the Court of Love is printed in Potvin, «Charte de la Cour d'Amour,» pp. 201-220; a list of the members of the Court circa 1416 is given in Piaget, «Cour amoureuse,» pp. 424-425.

62 Potvin, «Charte de la Cour d'Amour,» p. 209: une messe à notte, à son dorgues, à chante et deschant.

63 Potvin, «Charte de la Cour d'Amour,» p. 214: une messe qui sera ditte et célébrée, à notte, solennelment, à diaque, soubdsdiaque, et choriste, à son dorgues et deschant, chascun lundy de l'an, entre IX et X heures.

64 Orléans, *Poésies complètes*, I, 12:

The sixth point and the last
Is that he will be a diligent scholar,
In learning all the gracious turns,
In his power, which serve in love,
That is to say: to sing and dance,
Make chansons and rhyme ballades,
And all other joyous entertainments.

Although King Charles VI, Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy, and Duke Louis the Good of Bourbon were all named as the principal patrons of the society, philologists have long recognized the Court of Love as primarily a Burgundian order.⁶⁵

The man chosen as *prince d'amour* to lead this Court of Love was Pierre de Hauteville, apparently a native of Tournai, who served successively as a squire to Philip the Bold, John the Fearless, and Philip the Good.⁶⁶ Guillebert de Metz, the librarian of John the Fearless, informs us that during the séances of the Court of Love, this *prince d'amour* «held with him musicians and gallants who knew how to make and sing all manner of chansons, ballades, rondeaux, virelais, and other 'dictiés amoureux,' and how to play instruments melodiously.»⁶⁷ One of these musicians and gallants may have been the Burgundian composer Pierre Fontaine, since the envoy of Pierre's ballade *Pastourelle en un vergier* is addressed to a *prince d'amour*:

Prince, face son plaisir
De moy et vous autres....⁶⁸

Among the twenty-four ministers serving the *prince d'amour* were three other persons important for our history: Jean Mullechner of Austria, Jean Carité, and Jean de Villeroy called Briquet.

On the membership roll of the Court of Love compiled around 1416 appears the name «Jehan de Austria, docteur en theologie, president de la Cour amoureuse.»⁶⁹ This Jean de Austria was undoubtedly identical to the «théologien alemant qui jouait sur la vielle» mentioned by Guillebert de Metz in his list of illustrious artists of Paris around 1407.⁷⁰ According to the records of the University of Paris, Jean de Austria's true name was Jean Mullechner,⁷¹ and those of the court of Burgundy show that he was in the pay of Philip the Bold. In 1397, for example, Philip gave Jean Mullechner fifty francs «in consideration of the good and continual study that he has made for a long time in the faculty of

65 Piaget, «Cour amoureuse,» p. 445; and Prinnet, «Pierre de Hauteville,» p. 434.

66 Pierre de Hauteville was born in 1376 and died in Lille in 1448. Extensive biographical information on Pierre can be found in Prinnet, «Pierre de Hauteville.»

67 Metz, *Description*, p. 234: tenoit avec lui musiciens et galans qui toutes manieres de chancons, balades, rondeaux, virelais et autres dictiés amoureux savoient faire et chanter, et jouer aux instrumens melodieusement.

68 Canonici 213, fol. 121v:

Prince, do as you wish
With me and your minions....

69 Piaget, «Cour amoureuse,» p. 429.

70 Metz, *Description*, p. 233.

71 Jean Mullechner is listed as a member of the faculty of the University of Paris between 1380 and 1416 (Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium*, III, 344, 372, 397, 606, 611, and 662; and Denifle *et alii*, *Auctarium chartularii*, I, col. 584; and II, cols. 17, 126, 193, 204, and 205).

theology and to aid him to receive the degree of master in said science.»⁷² In the summer of 1414, Jean undertook a voyage to England; the safe conduct issued by King Henry V states that at the time Jean Mullechner was serving as deacon of the church of St. Thomas-du-Louvre in Paris and that his mission to England was for the cause of «unitatem Sanctae Ecclesiae.»⁷³ In any case, it seems clear that the court of Burgundy was occasionally graced with an Austrian theologian and diplomat who played the vielle.

Jean Mullechner and the other twenty-three ministers of the Court of Love were required to present a ballade or other «dits amoureux» using a given refrain at each of the monthly meetings of the society; should they be negligent, they were to pay a fine of one franc.⁷⁴ Some of this poetry of the ministers apparently has survived, for the Jean Carité and Jean de Villeroy called Briquet listed at the Court of Love were probably the «Charite» and «Briquet» named as the composers of two rondeaux refrains preserved in the Canonici 213 MS.⁷⁵ We have mentioned that Jean Carité of the Court of Love may have been the Jean (Jacques) Carité who served as chaplain to Duke John of Berry,⁷⁶ whereas Jean de Villeroy called Briquet was a *sommelier de corps* of Philip the Bold and his name figures in the Burgundian accounts for a period of twenty years.

Jean de Villeroy called Briquet,⁷⁷ the probable composer of the two-voice rondeau *Ma seul amour et ma belle maistresse*, had joined the court of Burgundy by January 1388.⁷⁸ Engaged as a *sommelier de corps*, he performed variously as Philip's squire, gaoler, messenger, and diplomat. In 1389, he was charged to undertake «certains pelerinages» on behalf of the duke;⁷⁹ in 1392 he was sent from Compiègne to Clermont, north of Paris, to procure spices;⁸⁰ and in 1396 he was ordered to Farcheville, near Étampes, to fetch two large stag heads and transport them north to the ducal castle of Hesdin.⁸¹ In 1398 and 1399, Briquet was entrusted with missions touching «certaines choses secretes» for Philip the Bold.⁸² He accompanied Philip to Le Mans in Brittany

72 ACO, B 1507, fol. LXII; doc. 111.

73 Rymer, *Foedera*, IV, part II, 87.

74 Potvin, «Charte de la Cour d'Amour,» p. 205.

75 Canonici 213, fols. 90v and 96v.

76 See above pp. 81-82, n. 209.

77 Jean de Villeroy called Briquet may have come from the small town of Villeroy situated south of Paris near Corbeil.

78 ACO, B 1469, fol. 58v [LVIIIv].

79 ACO, B 1479, fols. 59-59v [LIX-LIXv]; doc. 76.

80 ACO, B 1495, fol. 98 [IIIxxXVIII].

81 ACO, B 1508, fol. 102 [CI].

82 ACO, B 1517, fol. 219v [IIcXIXv]; and ACO, B 1521, fol. 58 [LVIII].

in the summer of 1392⁸³ and again to Angers in 1394⁸⁴ and Nantes in 1402.⁸⁵ Early in 1399, Philip dispatched Briquet to England to deliver New Year's gifts (*étrennes*) to Richard II and the duchess of Gloucester:

To Jehan de Villeroy called Bricquet, to whom has been paid by said receiver general, the sum of one hundred gold *écus*, for his expenses and expenditures to go to the country of England where said lord sent him promptly, to carry the New Year's gifts of my said lord to the king of England as well as to the duchess of Gloucester, and for his return from England before my said lord.... Given at Conflans-lès-Paris 22nd March 1399 [n.s.l....] *C écus*.

(ACO, B 1519, fol. 75 [LXXV]; doc. 118)

From 1388 through 1401, Briquet was paid five sous, four deniers, daily for his services, but by January 1402 this wage had been raised to ten sous per day.⁸⁶ The last mention of Jean Briquet at the court of Burgundy shows that he was married in the fall of 1407 and received a wedding gift of one hundred francs from Duke John the Fearless.⁸⁷ Like the Austrian theologian Jean Mullechner, Briquet was not a professional musician, but simply one of the many amateur practitioners of poetry and music at the Burgundian Court of Love.

83 Bibl. nat., CB 65, fol. 62.

84 ACO, B 1503, fol. 107v [CVIIv].

85 ACO, B 1532, fol. 211v [CCXIV].

86 ACO, 33 F 31, liasse, no folio; ACO, B 1526, fol. 105 [CXI]; and ACO, B 1532, fol. 140v [VIIxxv].

87 Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 274. Jean Briquet seems to have had a very frail constitution. The Burgundian ledgers record no less than ten payments totalling more than four hundred francs made to assist his recovery from illness. In 1398, he was given thirty francs to help cure a malady that «longuement il avoit eue en la ville de Paris» (ACO, B 1517, fol. 143v [VIIxxIIIv]; doc. 117) and in 1400 he received twenty *écus* «à paier les phisiciens» (ACO, B 1532, fol. 220 [Xlxx]; doc. 124). In 1403, Philip awarded Briquet two hundred francs to repurchase certain annuities that Jean had been forced to capitalize to pay the expenses of his illness (ACO, B 1532, fol. 216v [CCXVIv]).

The Music Books of the Court

Music at the court of Burgundy embraced the secular as well as the sacred, the old-fashioned as well as the modern. Music was heard during the celebration of the mass and office hours, at baptisms and weddings, during conferences of state and ceremonial entries, at banquets and at the dances which usually followed thereafter. Much of this music, particularly the dance music performed by the minstrels of the court, was undoubtedly improvised; these sounds, because of the evanescent spontaneity of improvised music, lived only in the moment of their creation and are now lost forever. Yet some of the music of the court was recorded beyond the moment, copied into manuscripts which formed part of the ducal library and which were carted after the prince as he progressed from one residence to another.

Philip the Bold, the first duke of Burgundy of the house of Valois, was one of the great bibliophiles of the late Middle Ages. His collection of books numbered more than two hundred and was exceeded in size only by the libraries of Charles V, king of France, John, duke of Berry, and Giangaleazzo Visconti, lord of Milan.¹ Philip acquired some of his books through inheritance, mainly from his father, King John II, and his father-in-law, Louis of Male, count of Flanders, and some in the form of gifts, often from his brother, Duke John of Berry. But most he obtained through outright purchase, usually in Paris. In 1384, for instance, shortly after Philip had inaugurated a chapel at his court, he made the following payment to a chaplain of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris for a book of motets:

To sire Jehan Macon, priest, chaplain of the Sainte Chapelle royal in Paris, for the sale of a book of motets which my lord has had taken and purchased from said sire Jehan for himself. By his mandement and quittance given 16th July 1384....XIII fr.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 161; doc. 49)

Philip's liturgical and devotional books, which constituted more than half of his collection, were placed in his chapel and oratory, and their safe-keeping became the responsibility of the first chaplain. When the court was in transit, the books went along, packed in large chests and transported on wagons. Fortunately, it is possible to ascertain the contents of the library of Philip the Bold from the descriptive inventories made of the possessions of Philip and Margaret of Flanders after their deaths in 1404 and 1405, respectively.

Index of the Trémoille MS (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 23190), formerly belonging to the duchess de la Trémoille.

8. Index of the Trémoille MS (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 23190), formerly belonging to the duchess de la Trémoille.

1 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 192.

The library of Philip the Bold contained books of various sorts: histories, romances, collections of poetry, didactic treatises on venery and falconry, writings on religion, and liturgical and devotional works. The music books of the court were among the liturgical books housed in the chapel and oratory, with the single exception of a volume by Guillaume de Machaut which was kept outside the chapel with the histories, romances, and collections of poetry belonging to the duke. It must be emphasized that the inventory made after the death of Philip in 1404 and that made after the death of his wife Margaret in 1405 are each only partial lists; the two must be taken together to form a complete catalogue of the books belonging to Duke Philip the Bold at the time of his death. It is from these that we learn of the musical répertoire of the singers of the court.

A Selected List of Service Books
and Other Books of Music
Belonging to Philip the Bold ²

(Inventory of 1404)

BOOKS BELONGING TO THE CHAPEL OF MY SAID LORD:

1. Firstly, a fine *MISSAL*, according to the usage of Paris, garnished with clasps and fasteners of gold, which my lord the chancellor [Martin Porée] gave my lord on a New Year's Day, and which serves the prelate on great feast days, covered by a drape of white damask sewn with marguerites P. and M. and orphreys and six buttons of pearls....
2. Item, a *MISSAL*, notated, according to the usage of Paris, serving at the high mass each day.
3. Item, a *PONTIFICAL* for the prelate.
4. Item, two books of *MOTETS*, one larger than the other.

² This list and the one of the books of John the Fearless that follows were compiled according to these criteria: books described in the inventories as «noté,» indicating they contained musical notation, are included; books sometimes listed as notated and sometimes not, specifically breviaries, missals, and pontificals, are likewise included; volumes named consistently without indication of musical notation, such as books of orisons and of the hours, Bibles, psalters, evangelistaries, and lectionaries, are omitted. A complete list of books counted in the inventories of 1404 and 1405 is given in both Peignot, *Catalogue*, pp. 41-76; and Dehaisnes, *Histoire*, II, 839-840 and 879-881.

5. Item, seven *HALF-BREVIARIES*, notated, for the season of summer and the season of winter, all according to the usage of Paris of which one is a very large volume.
6. Item, three *GRADUALS*, notated, that is: two large and one medium size, of which the latter served before the body and has remained in Burgundy. ³
7. Item, a *BREVIARY*, notated, according to the usage of Paris.
8. Item, another notated book in which are several *PROSES* and *HYMNS*, and the *OFFICES* of the Holy Sacrament, of the Dead, and several others.
9. Item, a notated book in which is contained the complete service of my lord Saint Anthony.
10. Item, a small, notated book containing the service of the Holy Sacrament.

*OTHER BOOKS FOR THE ORATORY OF MY SAID LORD,
FASTENED WITH CLASPS OF GOLD AND SILVER:*

11. Firstly, a *BREVIARY* in two volumes fastened with clasps of gold, according to the usage of Paris, in which my said lord says his hours....
12. Item, a *MISSAL* in which my said lord says his service, according to the usage of Paris, with clasps of silver with gold trim.
13. Item, the greater part of quires of a *MISSAL*, translated from Latin into French, which the late Queen Blanche had had made....
14. Item, eight small quires, one containing the service of Saint Anthony, Saint Charlemagne, and Saint Louis of Marseille, the other the feast of the Sacrament, and the fourth covered with silk containing several *MASSES*, and the remaining quires *PROCESSIONERS*.

(Inventory of 1405)

OUTSIDE THE INVENTORY:

15. Firstly, one *MISSAL*, covered with red leather, with fasteners of silver in the arms of my lady.

³ This gradual was apparently placed with the corpse of Philip the Bold and remained at the Charterhouse of Champmol near Dijon.

16. Item, another MISSAL, covered with white leather with a cross above.
17. Item, SEQUENCES, notated.
18. Item, one GRADUAL.

IN A COFFER LABELED A.P.

19. Item, two BREVIARIES, according to the usage of Rome, one large and the other small.
20. Item, another new book, without fasteners, in which are several MASSES, covered in vermillion.

IN A COFFER LABELED A.O.

21. Item, two BREVIARIES, notated.

IN A COFFER LABELED A.M.

22. Item, one GRADUAL, notated.

IN A COFFER LABELED A.E.

23. Item, one book of Machaut.

After the passing of Philip and Margaret, and after the requisite inventories of their possessions had been made in 1404 and 1405, the service books of the court were placed in the charge of Martin Porée who was then acting as confessor and first chaplain to the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless.⁴ During John's reign, additions were made to the library as can be seen from the inventory of his books made in 1420, the year after his murder, by Jean Bonost, a ducal councillor, and Jacques de Templeuve, John's first chaplain.

A Selected List of Service Books
and Other Books of Music
Belonging to John the Fearless⁵

(Inventory of 1420)

⁴ ACO, B 309, liasse, no folio.

⁵ The complete list of books belonging to John the Fearless is given in Dautrepoint, *Inventaire*, pp. 1-172.

*HERE FOLLOW THE BOOKS SUCH AS
BREVIARIES, MISSALS, HOURS,
AND OTHER BOOKS OF DEVOTION:*

1. Firstly, a BREVIARY in two volumes, according to the usage of Paris, for my lord; the first volume beginning in Advent, in which, after the calendar, is written on the first folio of the Psalter *Invitatione praeocupemus*, and finishes on the last folio *O dulcis Maria* as above....
2. Item, a large MISSAL, according to the usage of Paris, notated; beginning on the second folio after the calendar *Inimici mei*, and finishing on the last folio *Sine fine psalencia. Amen....* sewn with P. M. and with marguerites.
3. Item, another MISSAL, according to said usage of Paris; beginning on the second folio after the calendar *In illo tempore, venit Johannes Baptista*, and finishing on the last folio *Salvet gratia. Amen....*
4. Item, a BREVIARY, according to the usage of Rome, covered with a drape of blue silk.... and which begins after the calendar *Pater noster*, and ends *Oraciones ut supra*.
5. Item, a small MISSAL, covered with vermillion leather, beginning after the calendar *Ad te levavi*, and finishing *Seculorum. Amen.*

OTHER CHURCH BOOKS OF THE CHAPEL:

6. Firstly, a large, complete BREVIARY, notated, covered with white leather; and which begins on the second folio *Ou brief de l'Avend, Feriales*, and finishing *Viderunt ipsum*; of which BREVIARY the calendar, the Psalter, and the Common of the Saints are in the middle of said book; and is said BREVIARY according to the usage of Paris; and it served continually in the chapel at matins, vespers, and the other hours.
7. Item, another BREVIARY in two volumes, notated, according to the usage of Paris, covered with white leather; and which begins in the first volume, which commences in Advent, on the first folio *Officium Beate Barbare* in red letters, and finishes *Nunc jam*, notated; and the second volume, which begins at Trinity, commences on the third folio of the Psalter *Confitebor Domino*, and which finishes *Qui tecum vivit etc.*, is the end of the prayer of the Dead.
8. Item, another BREVIARY in two volumes, notated, according to the usage of Paris, covered with white leather; and which begins, in the volume commencing

in Advent after the calendar *Servite domino*, notated, and the vigils of the Dead are between the Psalter and the section of the Advent, and which finishes *Aperiat nobis. Amen*; and the second volume, which begins with the Sunday after Trinity, commences after the calendar *Ecce in nubibus*, notated, and finishes *Virgo mater Dei*.

9. Item, another BREVIARY in two volumes, notated, according to said usage of Paris, covered with white leather; and which begins, in the volume commencing in Advent, on the second folio of the Psalter *Oblitus clamorem pauperum*, and which finishes *Misericordia Jhesu Christi*; and the second volume, which begins at Trinity, commences after the calendar on the second folio of the Psalter *Nequando rapiat*, and finishes *Nos Deus, salutaris noster*.

10. Item, a large HALF-BREVIARY, notated, according to said usage of Paris, written in large letters, which is for the season of Advent until Trinity; and which begins soon after the calendar *Sabbato in adventu*, and finishes *Quesumus, omnipotens ut supra*; and the Psalter is in the middle of the book.

11. Item, a large, notated book, without a Psalter, in which are legends, responds, and other things for many saints; beginning after the calendar *In vigilia Sancti Andree*, and finishing *Ipse conspicit*.

12. Item, another old volume, in the manner of a HALF-BREVIARY, notated, without a Psalter, and ... *sanctorum* of the season of summer; which begins on the first folio *Sabbato post Octavas Penthecostes*, and finishes *Animabus vestris*.

13. Item, a notated book, written in large letters, of the office and legend of my lord Saint Anthony; and which begins *Incipit officium* in red letters, and finishes *Sectatus est meliorem*; garnished with two clasps of silver with gold trim, of which one displays the arms of my late lord the grandfather [probably Louis of Male, count of Flanders].

14. Item, another notated book without accoutrements, covered with parchment, of the office of my lord Saint Anthony, of Saint Charlemagne, and of relics; and which begins on the third folio *In festo Beati Anthonii*, and finishes *Post vita perhempnis*.

15. Item, a small, flat, notated book containing the office of the Holy Sacrament, which begins *Incipit officium de corpore* in red letters, and finishes *In patriam nos deducit*.

16. Item, another notated book, written in large letters, in which there are many SEQUENCES, HYMNS, the office of the Holy Sacrament, vigils of the Dead, and other things; which begins after the calendar *Kirieleyson*, notated, and finishes *Intercessione adverte per Christum*.

17. Item, another notated book named BREVIARY OF ORDINARY, according to the usage of Paris, which commences with responds and antiphons, beginning on the first folio *Ordo servicii*, and which finishes *Amen, dico*, notated.

18. Item, a notated quire, written in large letters, containing the office of Saint Louis of Marseille, and which begins *Tecum fuit principium*, and finishes *Feliciter mereamur per Dominum*.

19. Item, eight small, notated quires of parchment, named PROCESSIONERS.

MISSALS AND OTHER BOOKS USED AT THE SERVICE OF MASS:

20. Firstly, a MISSAL which served at the great altar of the chapel, notated, according to the usage of Paris, the large letters illuminated in gold; beginning after the calendar *Dominica prima in adventu* in red letters, and finishing with *Requiem sempiternam*, notated, garnished with two silver clasps with fillips and the arms of my lord.

21. Item, a MISSAL of large size, according to the usage of Rome, which begins soon after the calendar *Incipit ordo missalis* in red letters, and finishes *Fac largitate securum*, garnished with two silver clasps with fillips and the arms of my late lady.

22. Item, a small quire of parchment, covered with a drape of silk, in which there are many MASSES, and which begins with *La messe de la Trinité*, and finishes with *Confitebor tibi in populis*.

23. Item, a PONTIFICAL for the bishop, notated in a few places, written in large letters, beginning on the first folio *Benedictorum in vigilia natalis Domini* in red letters, and finishing *Per eumdem Dominum* in black letters, garnished with two silver clasps with gold trim chiseled with the arms of my late lord the grandfather.

24. Item, a GRADUAL, notated, from which one sang the high mass from the lectern of said chapel; which begins on the second folio *Auditam faciet*, and finishes *Benedictus qui etc.*, according to the usage of Paris.

25. Item, another GRADUAL, notated, beginning on the second folio *Fructum suum*, and which finishes *Da nobis pacem. Amen*.
26. Item, another GRADUAL, notated, covered in red, beginning on the second folio *Notam fac michi*, and finishing *Magnificat anima*; this book is ruled in black and in the old fashion.
27. Item, another GRADUAL, notated, beginning on the second folio *Terra nostra*, and finishing *Amen. Redempta*.
28. Item, a book covered in red, notated in the old fashion, in which are many SEQUENCES, beginning on the first folio *Victime pascali laudes*, and finishing *Amen*.
29. Item, a book covered in red, notated, in which there are polyphonic ANTIPHONS, VIRELAIS, and BALLADES.
30. Item, a large, flat book, notated, containing many MOTETS, VIRELAIS, and BALLADES, which begins *Colla jugo fidere*, and finishes *Bis dicitur*.
31. Item, another book of MOTETS, PATREMS, VIRELAIS, BALLADES, and other things, from which one sang in the chapel on the great feast days.
32. Item, a MISSAL in French, in quires of parchment, not illuminated or bound, and which begins *Le premier dyemanche de l'Avant* in red letters, and finishes *Ou pays de gloire. Amen*.
33. Item, a small, flat book, covered in black called the little ORDINARY.

LIBRARY:

34. Item, another book called the Book of Machaut, covered with vermillion leather, beginning on the second folio *J'eus tel douleur*, and on the last folio *David Hoquetus*.
35. Item, another book called the Book of Master Guillaume de Machaut, covered with vermillion leather, beginning on the second folio *Cy commencent les V*, and on the last folio *Dont j'ay en ce rommant*.

The apparent increase in the number of books during the reign of John the Fearless is misleading since many items grouped under a single entry in the inventories of 1404 and 1405 are listed separately in the account of 1420. Philip the Bold owned thirteen breviaries, seven missals, five graduals, two books of

motets, a collection of hymns and proses, a pontifical, a sequencer, a processional, and complete services for the Holy Sacrament, for the Requiem Mass, for St. Charlemagne and St. Louis of Marseille, and, of course, for St. Anthony, Philip's patron saint, plus a book containing works by the poet-musician Guillaume de Machaut. To this legacy, John the Fearless added two items: a collection of polyphonic motets, virelais, and ballades (No. 29), and a second book of works by Machaut, this one ending with Guillaume's three-part instrumental piece *David Hoquetus* (No. 34). The inventories of 1404, 1405, and 1420 make two facts clear: first, the musical répertoire of the Burgundian chapel, if sheer numbers be the criterion, was mainly monophonic Gregorian chant; and secondly, the immediate place of origin of this plainsong was Paris (the chapel followed the «usage» of Paris to the virtual exclusion of that of Rome).

With regard to manuscripts of polyphonic music in the Burgundian collection, the library of Philip the Bold contained only three: two books of motets and a volume of Machaut's works that included, among other things, his *Voir Dit*.⁶ The second volume by Machaut and the book of motets, virelais, and ballades added during the tenure of John the Fearless brought the total number of manuscripts containing polyphonic music to five. The entry «MOTETS, PATREMS, VIRELAIS, BALLADES, and other things, from which one sang in the chapel on the great feast days» (No. 31) indicates that the motet books of the duke of Burgundy were used in the chapel only during the major feasts of the liturgical year. One of the three volumes of motets listed as belonging to John the Fearless is of special importance.

The volume described in the inventory of 1420 as «a large, flat book, notated, containing many MOTETS, VIRELAIS, and BALLADES, which begins *Colla jugo fidere*, and finishes *Bis dicitur*» (No. 30) was the so-called Trémoille manuscript, a collection of motets, mass movements, rondeaux, virelais, and ballades of which only the index and four motets, two of them incomplete, survive today.⁷ The Trémoille MS, which begins with the text and music of *Colla*

⁶ Doutrepoint, *Littérature*, p. 371. According to Doutrepoint, this may have been the copy of the *Voir Dit* which Eustache Deschamps presented on behalf of Machaut to Louis of Male in 1375 (see above p. 22) and which likely passed to Philip the Bold after Louis' death in 1384.

⁷ A description of the Trémoille MS can be found in Bessler's «Studien» in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, VIII (1926), 235-241, along with an inventory of the contents and a list of concordances that were known to Bessler at that time. A far less satisfactory list of concordances for the pieces in the Trémoille MS as well as complete photographs of the manuscript are given in Droz and Thibault, «Chansonnier de Philippe le Bon,» pp. 3-7. See also Ludwig, *Machaut*, II, 18-20; *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, B IV2, 205-206; and Hasselman, «French Chanson,» I, 51-69. The surviving pieces of the manuscript are Philippe de Vitry's motet *Bona condit*, an anonymous motet *Mens in nequicia*, the motetus and tenor of Machaut's motet *Faux Samblans*, and the triplum and tenor of his motet *Ha Fortune*.

jugo subdere (the triplum part of the motet *Bona condit* by Philippe de Vitry) and has a large choirbook format (50 × 32.5 cm),⁸ was once owned by the duchess de la Trémoille but is now in the Bibliothèque nationale. At the end of the fourteenth century, it belonged to Duke Philip the Bold (it was probably the larger of the «two books of MOTETS, one larger than the other» listed in the inventory of 1404 [No. 4]), was passed to the succeeding dukes of Burgundy in the next century, and given to Georges de la Trémoille, governor of Burgundy under King Louis XI, after the death of Charles the Rash in 1477.⁹ At the top of the Trémoille MS (see plate 8, p. 138) can be found the inscription *Iste liber motetorum pertinet capelle illustrissimi principis Philippi ducis Burgundie et comitis Flandrie*. The last six words are in a more recent hand, suggesting that Philip was not the first to own this manuscript and that the name of the original owner has been erased and written over. The end of the first line and a complete second line were likewise effaced but have been deciphered with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp and read: *quem scripsit Michael de.... ia, ejusdem principis capellanus millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto*.¹⁰ The chaplain «Michael de.... ia» who notated this polyphonic collection in 1376 was likely Michael de Fontaine, first chaplain to King Charles V of France, and the first owner of the volume was possibly King Charles V himself.

The probable copyist of the Trémoille MS, Michael de Fontaine, first appears as chaplain to King Charles V in September 1370; by June 1378 he had been elevated to first chaplain.¹¹ When Charles V died in 1380 and was succeeded by his son Charles VI, Michael de Fontaine was replaced as first chaplain in favor of Clément Petit; Michael then became the cantor of the Sainte Chapelle of Paris, a position which he held until his death in October 1403.¹² We have mentioned that Philip the Bold had purchased a book of motets in July 1384 from Jean Mâçon, a priest of the Sainte Chapelle, and can show that he bought at least two other service books from canons of the Sainte Chapelle during the 1390's.¹³ It was sometime after February 1384, when he became count of Flanders, that Philip the Bold probably purchased the so-called Trémoille MS from the chapter of the Sainte Chapelle. In fact, it is not

8 *Bis dicitur* was probably the tenor part of the otherwise unknown motet *Nova stella* listed in the index as the last composition in the Trémoille MS.

9 See Droz and Thibault, «Chansonnier de Philippe le Bon,» pp. 1-2.

10 The reading was made by the Parisian archivist Charles Samaran; see Droz and Thibault, «Chansonnier de Philippe le Bon,» p. 1.

11 Delisle, *Mandements*, pp. 361, 400, and 853.

12 Brenet, *Sainte-Chapelle*, pp. 25 and 26, n. 1; Félibien, *Histoire*, III, 133-134; and Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, I, part 2, 822.

13 In 1394, Philip paid the canon Guillaume Peletier thirty francs for «un petit breviaire à l'usage dudit Paris» (ACO, B 1500, fol. 157v [VIIxxXVIIv]; doc. 96), and in 1396 he gave Jean du Moulin, then a canon of the Sainte Chapelle and the first chaplain of the king, a silver goblet worth forty-two francs in exchange for «un breviaire à l'usage de Paris» (ACO, B 1508, fol. 119v [CXVIIIv]; doc. 107).

impossible that the book of motets which Philip bought in July 1384 at a cost of thirteen francs was the Trémoille MS.

Utilizing the extant index of this manuscript and the contents of other polyphonic collections of the period, it is possible to reconstruct most of the pieces originally found in the Trémoille MS.¹⁴ Since the music of this collection was sung at the courts of both Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, a list of the compositions of this manuscript provides a detailed description of at least a part of the musical répertoire of the Burgundian court.

Trémoille Manuscript

1. Fols. 1v-2. **Bona condit*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 353; and Harrison, *PM*, V, 207///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 85.
 2. Fols. 1v-2. *Zodiacum*, motet///Concordances: Barcelona 853, fol. 1; Barcelona 971, fols. 11v-12; Leiden 2515, fol. 1; Ivrea, fols. 12v-13; Padua 658, No. 3; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fols. 64v-65///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 50 and 54.
 3. Fols. 2v-3. *Yda capillorum*, motet by Henricus and Egidius de Pusiex///Concordances: Chantilly 564, fols. 61v-62; Ivrea, fols. 6v-7; Leiden 342A, fol. 2v; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fols. 74v-75///Transcriptions: Günther, *Motets*, p. 57; and Harrison, *PM*, V, 24.
 4. Fols. 2v-3. *Hugo princeps*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 353///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 82.
 5. Fols. 3v-4. *Rosa sine culpe spina*, motet///Concordance: Ivrea, fols. 11v-12///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 46.
 6. Fols. 3v-4. *Trop est la douleur* (motet).
 7. Fols. 4v-5. *Helas ou sera pris*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 81///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, II, 141; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 37.
 8. Fols. 4v-5. *De ma douleur*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 83///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, II, 154; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 52.
- 14 This reconstruction draws upon the above-named studies of Bessler, and Droz and Thibault.
- * Compositions or parts of compositions which are still preserved in the Trémoille MS.

9. Fols. 5v-6. *Se j'aim mon loyal*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 85///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, II, 160; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 58.
10. Fols. 5v-6. *Puisque pites* (motet).
11. Fols. 6v-7. *Dame d'onour* (motet).
12. Fols. 6v-7. *Durement au cuer*, motet///Concordances: Durham 20, fol. 336; Ivrea, fols. 56v-57; and Paris 67, fol. 67///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 100.
13. Fols. 7v-8. **Ha Fortune*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 79///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, II, 134; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 30.
14. Fols. 7v-8. **Faux Samblans*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 84///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, II, 157; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 55.
15. Fols. 8v-9. **Mens in nequicia*, motet.
16. Fols. 8v-9. *Se je chant mains*, chace///Concordances: Ivrea, fol. 52v; and Paris 67, fol. 67v///Transcription: Apel, *Compositions*, III, 162.
17. Fols. 9v-10. *Organizanter*, motet///Concordance: lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fols. 14v-15.
18. Fols. 9v-10. *Amis dont ton vis*, rondeau by Pierre de Molins///Concordances: Grottaferrata, fol. 1; Ivrea, fols. 2v-3; Paris 568, fols. 3v-4; Prague XLE.9, fol. 251; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fols. 24 and 79v///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, I, 161; Borren, «Musique pittoresque,» p. 101; Kammerer, *Musikstücke*, p. 145; and Wolf, «Beiträge,» p. 8.
19. Fols. 9v-10. *De tous les biens* (ballade)///Concordance: Canonici 213, fol. 107v(?).
20. Fols. 10v-11. *J'ai le chapelet* (motet).
21. Fols. 10v-11. *Hareu, hareu, je la*, chace///Concordance: lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 59v.

* Compositions or parts of compositions which are still preserved in the Trémoille MS.

22. Fols. 11v-12. *Post misse modulamina*, motet///Concordance: Ivrea, fols. 7v-8///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 36.
23. Fols. 11v-12. *Biaute paree*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 88///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 11; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 71.
24. Fols. 12v-13. *Lugencium*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 354///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 97.
25. Fols. 12v-13. *Vos leonis* (motet).
26. Fols. 12v-13. *De ce que fol*, ballade by Pierre de Molins///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fols. 5v and 10; Chantilly 564, fol. 53v; Faenza, fols. 61-61v; Florence 26, fols. 86v-87; London 41667, fol. 1; Munich 15611, fols. 229v-230; Paris 568, fol. 124; Paris 6771, fol. 71v; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 36v///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, I, 159; Droz and Thibault, *Poètes*, p. 21; Plamenac, *Keyboard Music*, p. 22; Wilkins, *14th-Century*, p. 32; and Wolf, *Notationskunde*, I, 357.
27. Fols. 12v-13. *De toutes flours*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 115///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 118; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 35.
28. Fols. 13v-14. *Diex tant desir*, motet///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fols. 17v-18; Ivrea, fols. 25v-26; Oxford E Museo 7, fol. 269v///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 84 and 88.
29. Fols. 13v-14. *Cum venerint*, motet///Concordances: Ivrea, fol. 21v; and Tournai 476, fol. 33v///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 129.
30. Fols. 14v-15. *Plausu querulo* (motet).
31. Fols. 14v-15. *Plains sui d'amere* (motet).
32. Fols. 15v-16. *En l'estat d'amere*, motet///Concordances: Durham 20, fol. 338; and Ivrea, fols. 59v-60///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 108.
33. Fols. 15v-16. *En amer*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 121///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 138; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 98.
34. Fols. 16v-17. ... *reo gencium* (motet).

35. Fols. 16v-17. *Se j'ai par la vostre* (motet).
36. Fols. 17v-18. *Garison selonc*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 353///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 72.
37. Fols. 17v-18. *Dame sans per*, ballade///Concordance: Paris 6771, fol. 68///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, II, 24; and Wilkins, *14th-Century*, p. 21.
38. Fols. 18v-19. *Nazarea que decora*, motet///Concordances: Barcelona 853, fol. 1v; and Ivrea, fols. 13v-14///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 62.
39. Fols. 18v-19. *Iste confessor*, hymn///Concordances: Apt, fol. 16; Berlin 190, fols. 29-29v; Cambrai 29, No. 7; Cividale 57, fol. 325; Paris 196, p. 266; and Trent 87, fol. 164///Transcription: Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 62.
40. Fols. 18v-19. *Phiton le merveilleux*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 120///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 132; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 46.
41. Fols. 19v-20. *Thomas tibi* (motet).
42. Fols. 19v-20. *Rex quem metrorum*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 353; and Harrison, *PM*, V, 207///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 106.
43. Fols. 20v-21. *O Philippe*, motet///Concordances: Paris 146, fols. 10v-11; and Paris 571, fol. 144///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 29.
44. Fols. 20v-21. *Petre, Petre* (motet).
45. Fols. 20v-21. *De petit peu*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 108///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 90; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 18.
46. Fols. 20v-21. *De Fortune*, ballade by Guillaume Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 111///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 101; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 25.
47. Fols. 21v-22. *Flos virginum*, motet///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fol. 17; Chantilly 564, fols. 60v-61; Durham 20, fols. 338v-339; Ivrea, fols. 5v-6; and Modena M.5.24, fols. 17v-18///Transcriptions: Günther, *Motets*, p. 8; and Harrison, *PM*, V, 17.
48. Fols. 21v-22. *De Narcisus*, ballade by «Magister Franciscus»///Concordances: Autun 152, fol. 160v; Chantilly 564, fol. 19v; Paris 568, fols. 33v-34; and Paris 6771, fol. 81///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, I, 51; and Apel, *Music*, p. 90.
49. Fols. 22v-23. *Gratissima*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 353///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 76.
50. Fols. 22v-23. *Se Lancelot* (ballade).
51. Fols. 23v-24. *Diligenter*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 87///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 8; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 68.
52. Fols. 23v-24. *O que purificacio* (motet).
53. Fols. 24v-25. *L'autre jour* (motet).
54. Fols. 24v-25. *Fiat intencio* (motet).
55. Fols. 24v-25. *En ma dolour* (ballade).
56. Fols. 24v-25. *Danger refus* (ballade).
57. Fols. 25v-26. *Cum vix*, motet///Concordances: Barcelona 971, fols. 8v-9; Brussels 758, fol. 53v; Chantilly 564, fols. 62v-63; Nürnberg 9, fol. 1; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 81v///Transcriptions: Günther, *Motets*, p. 4; and Harrison, *PM*, V, 116 and 124.
58. Fols. 25v-26. *Prosapie* (motet).
59. Fols. 26v-27. *Ve constat* (motet).
60. Fols. 26v-27. *Revien espoir*, rondeau///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fol. 4; lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 29; and Utrecht 6.E.37, fol. 40v.
61. Fols. 26v-27. *Espoir me fuit*, rondeau///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fol. 4; lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 72; and Utrecht 6.E.37, fol. 40v///Transcription: Apel, *Compositions*, III, 90.
62. Fols. 26v-27. *Dame de qui*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 123///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 140; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 99.

63. Fols. 27v-28. *De tous les biens*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut(?)///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 91///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, III, 34.
64. Fols. 27v-28. *Jure quod in opera*, motet///Concordance: Paris 146, fol. 2///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 8.
65. Fols. 27v-28. *A maint biau jeu* (ballade).
66. Fols. 28v-29. *Quant la pree* (motet).
67. Fols. 28v-29. *Merci ou mort*, ballade///Concordances: Paris 6771, fol. 84; and Utrecht 6.E.37, fol. 29///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, II, 81; Günther, *Kompositionen*, p. 12; and Wilkins, *14th-Century*, p. 34.
- 67a. Fols. 28v-29. *Phiton le merveilleux*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut (see number 40).
68. Fols. 29v-30. *O admirabile* (motet).
69. Fols. 29v-30. *He doux regars*, virelai///Concordance: Cambrai 1328, fol. 2v.
70. Fols. 29v-30. *Honte paour*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 113///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 106; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 28.
71. Fols. 30v-31. *Kyri[e] sponse*, troped Kyrie.
72. Fols. 30v-31. *O livor*, motet///Concordances: Paris 146, fol. 21v; and Trent 87, fols. 231v-232///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, I, 42; and *DTÖ*, vol. 76, 1.
73. Fols. 30v-31. *Jour a jour la vie*, rondeau///Concordances: Faenza, fols. 51-51v and 64-64v; Florence 26, fols. 73v-74; London A.XXVI, fol. 3v; Munich 3232a, fol. 46v; Paris 586, fol. 121v; Paris 6771, fol. 66; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 48///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, III, 102; Dèzes, «Mensuralcodex,» p. 99; Günther, *Kompositionen*, p. 5; Plamenac, «Keyboard Music,» p. 190; Plamenac, *Keyboard Music*, p. 30; and Wilkins, *14th-Century*, p. 67.
74. Fols. 30v-31. *Celle dont ma joye* (ballade)///Concordance: lost Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 87.

75. Fols. 31v-32. *Inviolant*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 90///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 26; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 82.
76. Fols. 31v-32. *Tant doucement*, rondeau by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 128///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 150; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 58.
77. Fols. 31v-32. *J'ai grant desespoir*, ballade///Concordances: Paris 6771, fol. 65v; and Faenza, fols. 61v-62///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, II, 54; Günther, *Kompositionen*, p. 8; and Plamenac, *Keyboard Music*, p. 25.
78. Fols. 32v-33. *Ma douleur*, motet///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fol. 11v; Ivrea, fol. 53; and Paris 67, fol. 67///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 92.
79. Fols. 32v-33. *O crux preciosa* (motet).
80. Fols. 33v-34. *O livoris feritas*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 80///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, II, 137; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, III, 33.
81. Fols. 33v-34. *In arboris*, motet by Philippe de Vitry///Concordances: see Schrade, «Vitry,» p. 353///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 88.
82. Fols. 34v-35. *Et je serai li secons*, motet///Concordances: Ivrea, fols. 61v-62; and London 41667, fol. 27///Transcription: Hasselman, «French Chanson,» II, 162.
83. Fols. 34v-35. *Adieu ma dame* (motet).
84. Fols. 35v-36. *Pater ave* (motet).
85. Fols. 35v-36. *Et in terra*, Gloria.
86. Fols. 36v-37. *Patrem omnipotentem*, Credo by Decus(?).
87. Fols. 36v-37. *Quicumques vuet*, rondeau///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fol. 8; Florence 26, fols. 79v-80; Ivrea, fols. 6v-7; Paris 568, fol. 11///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, III, 126; and Günther, *Kompositionen*, p. 14.
88. Fols. 36v-37. *Cuers qui se sent* (ballade).
89. Fols. 36v-37. *Laissiez parler* (ballade).

90. Fols. 36v-37. *Ma dame m'a conge*, ballade///Concordance: Chantilly 564, fol. 14v///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, II, 75; and Günther, *Kompositionen*, p. 10.
91. Fols. 37v-38. *Karissimi* (motet).
92. Fols. 38v-39. *Cum humanum*, motet///Concordance: Paris 2444, fol. 49v.
93. Fols. 38v-39. *Decens carmen*, motet///Concordances: Ivrea, fol. 55v; and Paris 2444, fol. 48///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 95.
94. Fols. 39v-40. *Humblement*, chace///Concordance: Ivrea, fols. 58v-59///Transcription: Apel, *Compositions*, III, 180.
95. Fols. 40v-41. *Celsa cedrus*, motet///Concordances: Cambrai 1328, fol. 11; Ivrea, fols. 9v-10; and Paris 2444, fol. 49///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 42.
96. Fols. 40v-41. *Deo per confidenciam* (motet).
97. Fols. 40v-41. *Biaute qui toutes*, ballade by Guillaume de Machaut///Concordances: see Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 100///Transcriptions: Schrade, *PM*, III, 74; and Ludwig, *Machaut*, I, 4.
98. Fols. 41v-42. *Tres douz espoir*, motet///Concordance: Chantilly 564, fols. 66v-67///Transcriptions: Günther, *Motets*, p. 29; and Harrison, *PM*, V, 149.
99. Fols. 42v-43. *Qui dolereux*, motet///Concordances: Durham 20, fol. 339; and Ivrea, fols. 22v-23///Transcription: Harrison, *PM*, V, 80.
100. Fols. 42v-43. *A celui dont sui ser[viteur]* (ballade).
101. Fols. 43v-44. *Parfondement*, motet///Concordance: Oxford E Museo 7, fols. 268v-269///Transcription: Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music*, II, 37.
102. Fols. 43v-44. *Patrem omnipotentem*, Credo.
103. Fols. 44v-45. *Patrem omnipotentem*, Credo by Sortes///Concordances: Apt, fols. 40-41; Barcelona 971, fols. 3v-6; Cividale 98, fols. 1v and 41; Ivrea, fols. 47v-48; Leiden 2515, fols. II-IIv; Rochester 44, fol. 2v; Toulouse 94, fol. 1///Transcriptions: Gastoué, *Tresor d'Apt*, p. 152; Schrade, *PM*, I, 150; and Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*, p. 89.
104. Fols. 44v-45. *Caveus* (ballade).

105. Fols. 44v-45. *Comme le cerf*, ballade///Concordance: Paris 6771, fol. 72v///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, II, 19; and Günther, *Kompositionen*, p. 6.
106. Fols. 44v-45. *Fuiez de moi*, ballade///Concordances: Paris 6771, fol. 82; Prague XI.E.9, fol. 249v; and lost Strassburg 222 C.22; see also Apel, *Compositions*, II, xvii; Ludwig, *Machaut*, II, 20, n. 2; and Wilkins, *14th-Century*, p. xiii///Transcriptions: Apel, *Compositions*, II, 50; *DTÖ*, vol. 18, 202; Kammerer, *Musikstücke*, p. 134; Wilkins, *14th-Century*, p. 29; and Wolf, *Geschichte*, III, 189.
107. Fols. 45v-46. *Loyelon loielete* (motet).
108. Fols. 45v-46. *Ja couars n'ara* (motet).
109. Fols. 45v-46. *Dessus une fontenelle* (motet).
110. Fols. 46v-47. *Rex beatus*, motet///Concordances: Brussels 19606, No. 10; London 41667, fol. 26v; and Paris 146, fol. 10v///Transcription: Schrade, *PM*, I, 26.
111. Fols. 46v-47. *Mulierum* (motet).
112. Fols. 46v-47. *Pastoribus* (motet).
113. Fols. 47v-48. *Cuer gai* (ballade).
114. Fol. 48v. *Nova stella* (motet).

The original forty-eight folios of the Trémoille MS contained one hundred and fourteen compositions, one of which, the three-voice ballade *Phiton le merueilleux* by Guillaume de Machaut, was copied twice. There were seventy-one motets, five mass movements, one hymn, three canonic *chaces*, and thirty-four secular chansons of which seventeen can be definitely identified as ballades, six as rondeaux, and one as a virelai. Although no composers are named in the manuscript, eighteen pieces can be ascribed to Guillaume de Machaut through concordances, seven to Philippe de Vitry, two to Pierre de Molins, and one each to Henricus and Egidius de Pusiex, Magister Franciscus, and Sortes. Not surprising for a manuscript compiled at the Valois court of Charles V, the three composers best represented in the collection, Guillaume de Machaut, Philippe de Vitry, and Pierre de Molins, all had been associated with the Valois court at various times during the 1350's and 1360's.¹⁵ Also not surprising is the fact that the Trémoille MS has affinity with other major collections of French polyphony of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, notably the MSS Cambrai 1328, Ivrea, and Strassburg 222 C.22. In the case of the Ivrea MS, for

15 See above pp. 16-17.

example, no fewer than twenty-six of its thirty-seven motets were also present in the coëval Trémoille MS.¹⁶

That Michael de Fontaine compiled and dated the Trémoille MS in 1376 conveniently shows that all the pieces named in the index of this codex had been composed by that year. Some of the motets, most particularly those which appear in the *Roman de Fauvel* (Nos. 43, 64, 72, and 110) were more than sixty years old at the time of their inclusion in the Trémoille MS. The relatively small number of secular compositions and the fact that the manuscript was housed in the ducal chapel indicate that this was first and foremost a collection of liturgical and paraliturgical music; motets and mass movements were always written at the beginning of folios and then the secular chansons were simply filled in on the unused staves. In sum, the reconstruction of the contents of the Trémoille MS reveals this motet book to have been a collection of sacred music, interspersed with secular chansons, which had been composed at various times during the first three quarters of the fourteenth century by artists in the mainstream of the development of French music, men such as Vitry and Machaut, though certainly by the time these compositions were put to use in the chapel of Philip the Bold, their musical styles must have become somewhat outmoded.

A more contemporary style was also part of the musical répertoire of the court of Burgundy as can be seen from a record of a payment made in the fall of 1403 to the composer Jean Carmen:

And that he [Jacques de Templeuve] had paid to Carmen, scribe and notator of music, for having notated in the book of notes of the chapel of said lord certain hymns, Glorias, and Patrems newly made.... II fr. (ACO, B 1532, fol. 374 [XVIIIxxXIII]; doc. 130)

Jean Carmen, the creator of three motets now preserved in the Canonici 213 and Bologna Q 15 MSS,¹⁷ was one of the principal composers working in Paris at the commencement of the fifteenth century. He is mentioned along with Jean Tapissier and Jean César in Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames*¹⁸ and served as cantor at the church of St. Jacques-de-la-Boucherie in Paris.¹⁹ Like Jean Tapissier, Jean Carmen apparently chose to work under a professional sobriquet («Carmen» means sacred song). We cannot be certain that the sacred compositions copied by Carmen into one of the music books of the

16 The manuscripts which have a number of concordances for the pieces in the Trémoille MS are as follows: Ivrea (twenty-nine concordances), Strassburg 222 C.22 (fifteen), Cambrai 1328 (fourteen), Paris 6771 (eleven), Chantilly 564 (five), Paris 146 (four), and Apt (three).

17 A list of the compositions by Jean Carmen and the sources in which they can be found is given in Appendix A, pp. 168-169.

18 The passage is quoted above p. 130.

19 This information comes from P. de Saint-foix's *OEuvres complètes*, III, 172. Unfortunately, the author does not give the dates during which Carmen served as cantor, nor does he cite his source.

chapel of Burgundy included any of his own motets, but we can be sure that these pieces were written in the most up-to-date musical style, since they are described as «newly made.»²⁰

Besides this one record of payment to Jean Carmen, there is no other mention of composers under Philip or John being commissioned to compile new manuscripts of music or to enter their works in the existing manuscripts of the court. This was not because much of the music of these composers had yet to be written. The compositions of Tapissier and (presumably) Cordier, for example, were completed before or during their residence at Burgundy. The same is true of Fontaine's rondeau *Pour vous tenir* and Grenon's ballade *Je ne requier* (both written before 1418).²¹ In the absence of additional records of payment, it is impossible to know what pieces by composers employed at Burgundy were copied into the music books of the court because, excepting the fragmentary Trémoille MS, none of these manuscripts survives.²² The disappearance and apparent destruction of large numbers of polyphonic manuscripts is not a phenomenon unique to Burgundy. Only two complete manuscripts of polyphonic music written in all of France between 1400 and 1450 survive today intact.²³ The overwhelming majority of works by Burgundian composers is preserved in collections assembled outside of France, to wit in northern Italy.²⁴

How did these Burgundian compositions find their way across the Alps? Transfer of the music may have been effected through the travels of the emissaries of John the Fearless to the major church councils of the early fifteenth century: the Council of Pisa (1409) and the Council of Constance (1414-1418). Church convocations such as these tended to serve as ecclesiastical counterparts to the schools of the minstrels. A conclave of secular and sacred lords and their attendant chapel singers allowed for the exchange of the newest chansons, masses, and motets. The leader of the Burgundian delegation to the Councils of Pisa and Constance was Martin Porée, erstwhile confessor and *de facto* first

20 A payment to Carmen also was made in February 1403, and he is described as «escriptvain et enlumineur,» but the entry makes no mention of the amount he was paid or the service he rendered (ACO, B 1532, fol. 355 [XVIIxxXV]; doc. 127).

21 *Pour vous tenir* and *Je ne requier* are found in Parma 75 and Modena M.5.24, respectively, each with a contratenor by Matteo da Perugia (died before January 1418). Fontaine's rondeau *Mon cuer pleure* may date from before 1421. The tenor of this work is written on a guard leaf in a notarial register dating 1421-1423 at Namur. See Montellier, «Quatorze Chansons,» p. 170.

22 The recently discovered fragments of early fifteenth-century music in the public library in Dijon may be the remains of one of the missing Burgundian sources. Unfortunately, all six pieces contained therein are anonymous. See Wright, «Fragmentary Manuscript.»

23 The chansonnier Escorial V.III.24 and the near pair of choirbooks Cambrai 6 and 11. The song book may come from the Low Countries.

24 The manuscripts which contain a number of compositions by composers employed at the court of Burgundy in this period are as follows: Canonici 213 (twenty-five compositions), Bologna Q 15 (seventeen), Aosta (four), Paris 4917 (four), and Paris 6771 (four).

chaplain to Duke John.²⁵ Immediately prior to his departure for Pisa, Martin Porée had had charge of the music books of the chapel.²⁶ While in Constance, he was instructed to advance the cause of Burgundy by presenting gifts, including books, to a number of influential prelates, some of whom were from northern Italy.²⁷ It is possible that compositions by Burgundian composers were carried back to Italy by such prelates or by someone in their retinues. Curiously, the northern Italian sources that preserve a Burgundian répertoire exhibit no uniquely Burgundian sections; the Canonici 213 and Bologna Q 15 MSS, for example, which contain more than two-thirds of the extant pieces written by composers employed by Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, have the Burgundian pieces dispersed throughout seemingly at random.²⁸ The loss of almost all the Burgundian books of polyphonic music precludes learning how these sources may have been drawn upon in the compilation of northern Italian manuscripts, or if so-called fascicle manuscripts played a rôle in the dissemination of Burgundian music.

The inventories of the books of the court, an index of a motet book, and sundry records of payment for music books and additions thereto present a substantive, if not complete, picture of the musical répertoire of the court of Burgundy. The music heard in the chapel was primarily monophonic Gregorian chant of the usage of Paris. On the special feast days of the church year, the celebration of the divine service was made more splendid by the interpolation of polyphonic hymns, motets, and mass movements. Exactly how many of the chaplains and clerks actually sang the polyphonic pieces is difficult to determine. Although it is unlikely, for example, that all twenty-three chaplains and clerks employed in the chapel in 1403 sang the polyphonic masses and motets at any one time, the large choirbook format of the Trémoille MS shows that as many as a dozen singers could have crowded around and sung from the motet book at the same time. Possibly, the performers arranged themselves in groups, one group singing one motet, another group then singing another, and a third group, or perhaps all the singers, chanting the Gregorian plainsong. The hymns, masses, and motets sung in the chapel were very much a part of the standard répertoire of fourteenth-century northern French polyphony and were often by Philippe de Vitry or Guillaume de Machaut, though works by younger composers like Jean Carmen were heard as well. The secular music of the court comprised polyphonic ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, instrumental works like Machaut's *David Hoquetus* and dance pieces, including those that Jean Visée played from his book of «estempides» on the echiquier and portative organ. Evidently, the pieces in the manuscripts devoted to the works of Guillaume de Machaut served at the secular entertainments of the court because they were housed outside the confines of the ducal chapel.

25 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Livre des trahisons*, p. 54; and Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 211.

26 ACO, B 309, liasse, no folio.

27 Peignot, *Catalogue*, pp. 36 and 50.

28 Schoop, *Canonici misc. 213, passim*.

CONCLUSION

While this retrospective look into Burgundian court society has revealed much of the musical life of the court, some of the musical practices of Burgundy remain obscure. We do not know, for example, how many of the compositions by musicians at Burgundy were written to be performed at the court. Dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless employed at various times almost a dozen composers—Nicolas Grenon, Pierre Fontaine, Jean Carmen, Jean Tapissier, and (presumably) Baude Cordier, to name a few—but only in rare instances can we deduce that any of the fifty-odd extant compositions by these men were composed specifically for Burgundy. The texts of the surviving chansons and motets are silent as to the events or personages which may have caused these works to come into being; they speak of amorous sentiments or religious devotion, but not of particular battles, coronations, dukes, or kings. Perhaps the only two works which can be directly tied to Burgundy are the motet *Eya dulcis adque vernans rosa—Vale placens peroratrix* by Tapissier, which may have been written as a musical adjunct to Duke Philip the Bold's multifold attempts to end the Schism during the 1390's, and the chanson *Pastourelle en un vergier* by Fontaine, which appears to be addressed to the *prince d'amour* of the Burgundian Court of Love.

Particularly vexing is the paucity of precise information regarding performance practices at the court. For the reign of the third duke of Burgundy of the house of Valois, Philip the Good, we have elaborate descriptions recounting how particular pieces were performed, such as those describing the performance of the chansons and motets heard at the Feast of the Pheasant held in Lille in February 1454. But no such accounts dating from the era of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless seem to have survived. Thus it is difficult to know not only how much of the répertoire of the polyphonic music sung at the court was composed by musicians employed there, but also precisely how any of this music was performed. Were the minstrels of the court called upon to assist in the execution of polyphonic motets and mass settings? If Jean François' motet *Ave virgo lux Maria* was sung at the court, did the ducal «trompette des menestrels,» Hennequin Copetripe, play the part labeled «trompette introitus» or was the line simply vocalized by a singer or perhaps performed on an organ or some other instrument in the manner of a trumpet? The invariable separation of minstrels and chaplains shown by the account books indicates that the sacred music was performed mainly *a cappella*—or, at most, by voices with organ.

But if the account books are lacking specific information as to the performance of particular pieces at the court, they do provide marvelously detailed records about the types of music heard there—masses, motets, ballades, rondeaux, virelais, *chaces*, and estampies,—about the lives of the musicians who performed this music, and about the relative position of these musicians in

late-mediaeval court society. We know that the instrumentalists employed at Burgundy—minstrels, trumpeters, harpers, and chamber valets—played the shawms, tambourine (or tabour) and pipe, slide trumpet and «trompette de guerre,» bagpipes, cromornes, and the organ, echiquier (clavichord), harp, rote, and gittern. And these were supplemented by visiting minstrels who performed on the psaltery, vielle, rebec, and nacaires, and itinerant singers, both male and female. Philip the Bold recruited his instrumentalists from several countries: France, Sicily, England, Germany, and the Low Countries; John the Fearless drew his mainly from France, though he did apparently have in his employ a trumpeter from Lombardy and one from Flemish-speaking Flanders. The instruments for these performers were almost invariably fabricated in the Low Countries.

Yet despite their interest in many and sundry instrumental sounds, it is for their support of the singers and composers of the chapel of the court that Dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless should be remembered as patrons of music. By all contemporary accounts, the chapel of Duke Philip and the somewhat smaller one of Duke John were the largest, the best chosen, and the best dressed and furred of any of the French court chapels of the period. Among their ranks were found some of the most renowned composers of the age. Curiously, none of the first three dukes of Burgundy felt compelled to support a large musical chapel during the early years of his rule: Philip the Bold did not institute one at his court until 1384; John the Fearless waited more than ten years in his reign before establishing one in 1415; and Philip the Good was apparently content to do without a chapel between 1419 and 1430. The court ledgers also make clear that our term «Burgundian» musicians—implying musicians from Burgundy—when applied to this court is a misnomer. Only during the beginning of the reign of Philip the Bold can a number of minstrels be shown to have come from Burgundy. Of the singers and composers associated with the chapel, only Jean de Coulommiers, Jean Augustin du Passage, and perhaps Jean Tapissier, who may have come from Burgundy but who seems to have spent most of his days in Paris, can be called native Burgundians. Philip the Bold took most of his singers from the chapel of his deceased father-in-law, the count of Flanders, and from the papal court at Avignon, though these latter musicians, as we have seen, also came from northern France and the Low Countries. John the Fearless seems to have hired his chaplains and clerks mainly from the great churches of Paris, particularly the cathedral of Notre Dame and the Sainte Chapelle. Thus to speak of Burgundian musicians at the courts of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless is misleading: most of the minstrels and virtually all of the singers and composers of the chapel came from towns north of Burgundy.

That Philip the Bold drew a sizeable number of singers from Avignon demonstrates that the exchange of musicians between the court of Burgundy and the papal chapel did not begin in the 1420's with the generation of Dufay,

but that the path between the two courts was well worn by the mid 1390's. The rich musical life at the court of Philip the Bold so clearly documented in the account books shows that the so-called Burgundian supremacy in music was not limited exclusively to the reign of Philip the Good, but extended back to the last decades of the fourteenth century. To be sure, music at the court of Burgundy reached its apogee under Duke Philip the Good, in the heyday of Dufay and Binchois, and it was then that the duke of Burgundy came to be thought of as a Maecenas of the art; but as a protector and patron Philip the Good was no innovator, he was merely continuing to support the musical institutions and traditions established by his father and grandfather before him.

Biographies and Lists of Works of Court Composers

JEAN DE NOYERS called TAPISSIER

Tapissier, whose real name was Jean de Noyers, probably came from the town of Noyers, situated in northern Burgundy, near Montbard. He is named, along with the composers Jean de Suzay, Jean Vaillant, Philippe de Vitry, and Guillaume de Machaut, in the anonymous *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique* (circa 1400) as one of the principal French poet-musicians of the then present and recent past. By 1391, he had been engaged as a chamber valet and court composer to Philip the Bold at a daily wage of eight sous. That year he accompanied Philip and his court on a journey to Milan and Avignon (ACO, B 1487, fol. 91 [IIIxxXIII]; doc. 87); in the spring of 1395 he made a second trip to Avignon in the ducal service and remained there seven weeks (ACO, B 1503, fol. 120v [VIxxv]); and in the summer of 1399 he was with Duke Philip in Flanders (ACO, B 1538, fol. 147v [VIIxxVIIv]; doc. 121). The Burgundian accounts reveal that Tapissier maintained a school of music in Paris and that in 1406 three choirboys of the court were placed in his charge (ACO, B 1554, fols. 85v-86 [IIIxxVv-IIIxxVI]; doc. 134). The master was to feed, clothe, and house his pupils and to teach them to sing. In 1408, Tapissier was ordered to bring his choirboys from Paris to Amiens to sing before Duke John the Fearless (ACO, B 1554, fol. 210 [IIcII]; doc. 141), and later the same year he was rewarded for having helped perform the divine service before John on «many and diverse occasions» when the court was in Paris (ACO, B 1556, fol. 70 [LXVIII]; doc. 143). Although the accounts show that Tapissier died sometime before August 1410 (ACO, B 1560, fol. 93 [CI]; doc. 154), his name was well known enough several decades later to be mentioned by Martin le Franc in his poem *Le Champion des dames*.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Eya dulcis adque vernans rosa—Vale placens peroratrix

Canonici 213, fols. 139v-140, à 4 «Jo. Tapssier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 73; Stainer, *Dufay*, p. 187.

Patrem omnipotentem

Apt, fols. 34v-36, à 3 «Tapissier»; Bologna Q 15, fols. 48v-50, à 3 «Tapisier»///Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 111; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 61; Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*, p. 101.

Apt, fols. 35v-36, à 3 «Tapissier»///Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 117; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 69; Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*, p. 122.

BAUDE CORDIER: BAUDE FRESNEL

The reasons for believing Baude Cordier to have been the professional sobriquet of Baude Fresnel, the harper to Duke Philip the Bold, have been stated in Chapter VII. Baude was a native of the town of Rheims and is sometimes listed as «Baude de Rains» in the Burgundian accounts. He apparently had a relative, Regnault Fresnel of Rheims, most likely a brother, who was the organist at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris between 1392 and 1415 (Raugel, *Grandes orgues*, p. 80; and Archives nationales, LL 112, fol. XXIII). Baude joined the court of Burgundy on 10th January 1384 and was paid a daily wage of eight sous (Bibl. nat., CB 25, fol. 24; doc. 40). He alone of the five harpers who served under Philip was allowed to add the coveted title «valet de chambre de monseigneur» to his name. Between 1385 and 1394, Baude was authorized to purchase at least seven harps, and in 1388 he was provided with a portable organ to play before the duke (ACO, B 1469, fol. 61 [LXI]; doc. 67).

Baude Fresnel was chamber valet, harper, and occasional diplomat to Philip the Bold for almost fifteen years. He accompanied Philip to Chalon in the summer of 1388 (Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. frç. 3589, No. 30), to Milan and Avignon in 1391 (ACO, B 1487, fol. 84; doc. 85), and again to Avignon in 1395 (ACO, B 1503, fol. 120v [VIxxv]). While returning to Burgundy from Avignon in 1391, he was taken ill and spent six weeks in Chalon recovering his health. Baude followed Philip and King Charles VI into Brittany in August 1392 and was part of the entourage present in Le Mans when Charles VI was seized in a frenzy and attacked his own retinue (ACO, B 1500, fol. 80 [IIIxx]). In 1394, he was sent along with three other men to Brittany to treat with the duke of Brittany and present him gifts in the name of the duke of Burgundy (Bibl. nat., CB 65, fol. 57v; doc. 95). When the Burgundian court was in transit, the harper apparently enjoyed the company of his colleague Jean Tapissier as a riding companion; indeed on at least two occasions in 1395-1396 Baude supplied Jean with a horse after the latter's steed had become incapacitated (ACO, B 1503, fol. 120v [VIxxv]; and ACO, B 1508, fol. 117 [CXVI]). Baude was married in the fall of 1395, at which time he received two hundred francs from Duke Philip as a wedding present (ACO, B 1503, fol. 106 [CVI]). He died in 1397-1398, leaving behind a wife and young daughter (ACO, B 1526, fol. 97v [CIIIv]). If Baude Cordier and Baude Fresnel were one and the same, then obviously all the compositions by Cordier must have been written prior to 1397-1398, a date several years earlier than is generally supposed.

Amans, ames secretement

Canonici 213, fol. 123, à 3 «M. Baude Cordier»///Apel, *Notation*, No. 25; Davison and Apel, *Historical Anthology*, I, 51; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 7.

Belle, bonne, sage, plaisant et gente

Chantilly 564, fol. 11v, à 3 «M. Baude Cordier»///Davison and Apel, *Historical Anthology*, I, 51; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 9; Riemann, *Handbuch*, I, part 2, 354.

Ce jour de l'an

Canonici 213, fol. 97v, à 3 «M. Baude Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 1.

Dame excellent ou sont bonté

Canonici 213, fol. 116, à 3 (with an alternate cantus on the same text) «M. Baude Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 12.

Je suy celuy qui veul toudis servir

Canonici 213, fol. 110v, à 3 «M. Baude Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 3.

Pour le deffault du noble dieu Bachus

Canonici 213, fols. 108v-109, à 3 «Baude Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 2.

Que vaut avoir qui ne vit liement

Canonici 213, fol. 110v, à 3 «M. Baude Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 4.

Se cuer d'amant par soy humilier

Bologna Q 15, fols. 158v-159, à 3 «Baudet Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 8.

Tant ay de plaisir

Canonici 213, fol. 111, à 3 «M. Baude Cordier»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 6.

Tout par compas suy composes

Chantilly 564, fol. 12, à 3 (the second cantus is derived from the first) «M. Baude Cordier»///Aubry, *Anciens monuments*, p. 21; Bergsagel, «Circular Canon» p. 117; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 11; Riemann, *Handbuch*, I, part 2, 352.

Et in terra

Apt, fols. 26v-27, à 3; Bologna Q 15, fols. 30v-31, à 3 «Baudet Cordier»///Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 83; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 15; Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*, p. 52.

CASSIN HULLIN

Cassin Hullin, who may have been the composer of a GLORIA in the Apt MS, entered Burgundian service in December 1387 (Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 72v). He was hired as a «chantre» for the ducal chapel and given the title of chamber valet. Like the other chamber valets of the court, he received a daily wage of eight sous. Cassin was with the duke of Burgundy in Chalon in 1388 and accompanied the court to Avignon in 1391 and 1395 (Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. frç. 3589, No. 30). In the fall of 1395, he received a gift of one hundred francs from Duke Philip the Bold on the occasion of his marriage (ACO, B 1511, fol. 57v [LVIV]). His name disappears from the Burgundian records in 1396.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Et in terra

Apt, fols. 7v-8, à 2 «Chassa[in]»///Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 25; Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*, p. 56.

JEAN CARMEN

A member of the generation of composers active in Paris immediately before the advent of Dufay, Carmen and his contemporaries Jean Tapissier and Jean Césarès are mentioned in Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames* (circa 1440) as having astonished all Paris with their music. In the early years of the fifteenth century, Carmen was employed at the court of Burgundy on a part-time basis. On two occasions in 1403, he was recompensed by Duke Philip the Bold for services rendered when the court was in Paris (ACO, B 1532, fols. 355 [XVIIxxXV] and 374 [XVIIIxxXIII]; docs. 127 and 130). The second order of payment describes him as a «scribe and notator of music» and states that he

had copied «certain hymns, Glorias, and Patrems newly made» into a music book of the ducal chapel. At one time, Carmen also served as the cantor of the church of St. Jacques-de-la-Boucherie in Paris (Saint-Foix, *Oeuvres complètes*, III, 172). His motet *Venite adoremus dominum—Salve sancta eterna trinitas* laments that the Church then stood «in various ways divided» and was evidently written before the Great Schism had been formally ended at the Council of Constance in 1417.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Venite adoremus dominum—Salve sancta eterna trinitas

Bologna Q 15, fols. 224v-225, à 4 (with an alternate «solus tenor») «Carmen» and fols. 311v-312, à 4 (with an alternate «solus tenor») «Carmen»; Canonici 213, fols. 138v-139, à 4 (with an alternate «solus tenor»)///Borren, *Polyphonia sacra*, p. 167; Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 39.

Salve pater creator omnium—Felix et beata

Bologna Q 15, fols. 249v-250, à 4 (with an alternate «tenor ad longum») «Carmen»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 48.

Pontifici decori speculi

Canonici 213, fols. 26v-27, à 4 (with motetus voice derived from the triplum) «Johannes Carmen»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, I, 54; Stainer, *Dufay*, p. 88.

JEAN FRANÇOIS DE GEMBOUX

The lack of biographical information about Jean François de Gembloux has led some writers to assume that he was a contemporary of Dufay, though in fact he belonged to the previous generation. The earliest mention of Jean François occurs in a papal supplication of 1378 in which he is listed as a member of the chapel of the archbishop of Rouen at the curia in Avignon. The document describes him as a «clerico Leodiensis diocesis» (Gembloux, near Namur, was in the diocese of Liège) and asks that he be appointed to a benefice in the diocese of Liège in addition to the chaplainry he already held in the collegiate church of Notre Dame in Walcourt (Hanquet, *Suppliques de Clément VII*, I, 509). In 1384, François served as cantor of the church of St. Denis in Liège and was likely an associate of Johannes Ciconia, who at that time was a canon at the nearby collegiate church of St. Jean l'Évangéliste (Archives de l'État à Liège, *Saint Denis*, R. 165, fol. 54v; cited in Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, I, 140). Sometime between 1386 and 1393, François returned to Avignon to sing in the chapel of

Pope Clement VII, though the exact year is unknown because of the loss of the lists of papal singers for the years 1386-1392. However, he indubitably was the «Franciscus» named among the fourteen chaplains and two clerks who formed the papal chapel on 1st November 1393 (Günther, «Biographie,» pp. 185-186). After the death of Clement VII in September 1394, Jean François and three other papal singers were retained by Duke Philip the Bold and given horses to ride north to join the Burgundian court (ACO, B 1501, fol. 89v [IIIIXXIXv]; doc. 100).

By 1394, Jean François had acquired a canonicate at the cathedral of Lisieux (ACO, B 1514, fol. 129v [VIIXXVIIIv]) and a chaplainry in the cathedral of Rouen (Nelis, *Suppliques et lettres de Clément VII*, p. 783). The latter benefice he resigned in 1394 in favor of a canonicate at the cathedral of Evreux, and his place at Rouen was taken by another composer, Jean Haucourt. Sometime before 1400, both Jean François and Jean Haucourt were appointed canons and prebendaries at Ste. Opportune in Paris, a church administered by the chapter of St. Germain l'Auxerrois; but early in that year both men resigned their posts, François relinquishing his on 6th March and Haucourt his on 8th April (Archives nationales, LL 393, fols. XXXIIIv and XXXIIIv).

When his decade of service to Philip the Bold ended with the duke's death in 1404, Jean François withdrew to Evreux to live from the income of the prebend he held in the cathedral of that town. Though he kept his position in Evreux until at least 1412, he continued to be called to the court of Burgundy on special occasions and was referred to as a «chapellain» of Duke John the Fearless (ACO, B 1571, fol. 155v [VIIIXXVIv]). An entry in the royal accounts shows that Jean François had returned to Paris by 1414 to sing in the chapel of Dauphin Louis of Guienne, and he remained in the service of this young prince until the dauphin's premature death in December 1415 (Bibl. nat., fonds frç. 7853, p. 1132). For a different opinion on the identity of Jean François see Qutin, «Jean-François de Gembloux.»

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Mon seul voloir mon solvierain retour

Bologna Q 15, fols. 232v-233, à 3 «Jo. Gemblaco»; Paris 4379, fols. 59v-60, à 3///Borren, *Pièces*, p. 75.

Par ung regart

Bologna Q 15, fols. 250v-251, à 3 «.... mblaco»///Borren, *Pièces*, p. 74; Wolf, *Geschichte*, III, 84.

Sans oublyer sans faire departy

Buxheimer, No. 122; Canonici 213, fol. 33, à 3 «Johannes Franchois»///Borren, *Pièces*, p. 72; Igoe, «Johannes Franchois,» p. 41; Wallner, *Buxheimer*, II, 160 (arr. for keyboard).

Ave virgo lux Maria

Bologna Q 15, fols. 240v-241, à 4 or à 5 «Jo. Franchois»///DTÖ, vol. 76, 19; Igoe, «Johannes Franchois,» p. 32.

Et in terra

Aosta, fols. 90v-92, à 3 «Jo. Franchoys»; Bologna Q 15, fols. 114v-115, à 3 «Jo. Franchois de Gemblaco»; Canonici 213, fols. 57v-58, à 3 «Johannes Franchois»///Borren, *Polyphonia sacra*, p. 93.

Et in terra

Aosta, fols. 28v-29, à 3 «Jo. Franchois» and fols. 92v-93, à 3 «Jo. Franchois»; Bologna Q 15, fols. 134v-135, à 3 «Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco»; Munich 3232a, fols. 62v-63, à 3///Igoe, «Johannes Franchois,» p. 29.

Patrem omnipotentem

Aosta, fols. 114v-117, à 3; Bologna Q 15, fols. 115v-117, à 3«Jo. Franchois»; Cambrai 6, fols. 33v-36, à 3; Cambrai 11, fols. 38v-41v, à 3; Canonici 213, fols. 74v-75v, à 3 «Johannes Franchoys»; Munich 3232a, fols. 153v-155, à 3///Borren, *Polyphonia sacra*, p. 99.

Patrem omnipotentem—Alma redemptoris Mater

Aosta, fols. 29v-30, à 3 «Jo. Franchois» and fols. 117v-119, à 3; Bologna Q 15, fols. 135v-136, à 3 «Johannes de Gemblaco»; Munich 3232a, fols. 105v-106v, à 3; Trent 93, fol. 254v (incomplete)///Igoe, «Johannes Franchois,» p. 21.

An anonymous GLORIA-CREDO pair from the Bologna Q 15 MS (fols. 103v-105) is attributed to François on the basis of musical style in Feininger, *Jo. Franchoys*

JEAN DE VILLEROY called BRIQUET

Jean Briquet apparently was not a professional musician. At the court of Burgundy, he held the title *sommelier de corps* to the duke and in that capacity served variously as squire, gaoler, messenger, and diplomat. He had joined the court by January 1388 (ACO, B 1469, fol. 58v [LVIIIv]), and between that date and the death of Philip the Bold in 1404 he travelled widely. In 1389, he was charged to undertake certain pilgrimages on behalf of the duke (ACO, B 1479, fols. 59-59v [LIX-LIXv]; doc. 76); in 1392 he was in Compiègne, and in 1396 he was sent to Hesdin in Flanders (ACO, B 1495, fol. 98 [IIIxxXVIII]; and ACO, B 1508, fol. 102 [CI]). He accompanied Philip the Bold to Le Mans in Brittany in the summer of 1392 (Bibl. nat., CB 65, fol. 62) and again to Angers in 1394 and to Nantes in 1402 (ACO, B 1503, fol. 107v [CVIIv]; and ACO, B 1532, fol. 211v [CCXIV]). His most important mission occurred early in 1399 when he was dispatched to England to deliver New Year's gifts to King Richard II and the duchess of Gloucester (ACO, B 1519, fol. 75 [LXXV]; doc. 118). Briquet was married in the fall of 1407 and received a wedding gift of two hundred francs from Duke John the Fearless (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 274). In 1416, he is listed as a minister of the Court of Love which Philip the Bold had established (Piaget, «Cour amoureuse,» p. 428). The two-voice rondeau *Ma seul amour et ma belle maistresse* attributed to Briquet in the Canonici 213 and Bologna Q 15 MSS is likely a setting of one of the «dits amoureux» which he was required to present to the *prince d'amour* at the monthly concourses of the Court of Love.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Ma seul amour et ma belle maistresse

Bologna Q 15, fols. 220v-221, à 2 «Briquet»; Canonici 213, fol. 96v, à 2 «Briquet»; Paris 4917, fol. 16v, à 2///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, II, 13; Stainer, *Dufay*, p. 82.

PIERRE FONTAINE

Pierre Fontaine first joined the court of Burgundy in 1403, not in 1404 as is usually stated (ACO, B 1532, fol. 226 [XIxxVI]; doc. 128; and Bibl. nat., CB 26, fol. 211). He may have served in fact, if not in title, as a choirboy in the chapel, since he is sometimes called «le petit Perrinet» (ACO, B 1538, fol. 67 [LXVII]). Between 1415 and 1419, he was a chaplain in the chapel of Duke John the Fearless (Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 89; and ACO, B 1601, fol. 58v [LIXv]; doc. 170).

After the murder of Duke John, Fontaine travelled to northern Italy and by March 1420 had been retained as a singer in the chapel of Pope Martin V (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» p. 453). A papal document tells us that Fontaine

was from the diocese of Rouen (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» p. 453), and he may have received his musical training in the cathedral of that town. He was possibly the «Pierre de Fontaines» whose property in Rouen was confiscated after King Henry V of England had seized that city in 1418 (Vautier, *Extrait du registre*, p. 18). Sometime between 1428 and 1430, Fontaine returned to the court of Burgundy (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 165).

While in the papal service, Pierre Fontaine enjoyed a canonicate in the church of St. Hermès in Renaix, in eastern Flanders (Berlière, *Diversa camera-lia*, p. 49), and then while a singer in the chapel of Duke Philip the Good, he acceded to benefices at the church of St. Aubert in Arras before 1440, at the Sainte Chapelle of Dijon in 1441, at St. Gommaire, near Antwerp, in 1444, and at the cathedral of Arras in 1445 (Baix, *Chambre apostolique*, p. cclviii, n. 13; Dubrulle, «Curie romaine,» p. 386; and Marix, *Histoire*, p. 167). Fontaine apparently said his first mass in Dijon before the bishop of Auxerre in 1433, thereby completing his studies for the priesthood (AN, B 1948, fol. 235; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 165). He is mentioned in Binchois' motet *Nove cantum melodie*, and appears to be the «Perinet» named in Dufay's rondeau *Ce moys de may* and the «Fontaine» to whom the anonymous rondeau *Fontaine, a vous dire le voir* is addressed. Although he last appears in the Burgundian accounts in the year 1447, it is not until 1451 that a Nicolas de Graincourt is engaged «in place of Fontaines» (AN, B 2008, fol. 89v; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 167). His *Pour vous tenir* was composed before 1418, and his *Mon cuer pleure* may have been written prior to 1421.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

A son plaisir volentiers serviroye

Canonici 213, fol. 88v, à 3 (contratenor by Guillaume Legrant) «P. Fontaine»; Paris 4917, fols. 17v-18, à 3///Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 9.

De bien amer

Bologna Q 15, fols. 98v-99, à 3 «P. Fontaine»; Canonici 213, fol. 100v, à 3 «P. Fontaine»; Paris 4379, fol. 60v (incomplete)///Wolf, *Geschichte*, III, 83.

J'ayme bien celui

Bologna Q 15, fol. 252, à 3 «Fontaine»; Canonici 213, fols. 17v-18, à 2 «Petrus Fontaine»; Escorial V.III.24, fols. 49v-50, à 3 («contratenor trompette»)///Aubry, «Iter hispanicum,» p. 527; Besseler, «Posaune,» p. 35; Dart, *Music*, p. 28; Dufay, *Opera omnia*, VI, 102.

Mon cuer pleure

Canonici 213, fol. 98, à 3 «P. Fontaine»; Paris 4917, fols. 9v-10, à 3; Paris 6771, fols. 116v-117, à 3 «Fontaine»; Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 100 (lost)///Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 10; Montellier, «Quatorze chansons,» p. 182; Wilkins, *15th-Century*, p. 34.

Pastourelle en un vergier

Canonici 213, fols. 121v-122, à 3 «P. Fontaine»///Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 12.

Pour vous tenir en la grace amoureuse

Canonici 213, fol. 95, à 3 (with an alternate cantus «Mon doux amy») «P. Fontaine»; Parma 75, fol. 233v, à 3 (contratenor by Matteo da Perugia)///Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 13.

Sans faire de vous departie

Brussels 9085, No. 23 (tenor only = *basse danse* tenor); Canonici 213, fols. 86v-87, à 3 (contratenor by Francus de Insula) «P. Fontaine»///Crane, *Basse Danse*, pp. 59 and 112 (tenor only); Gurlitt, «Burgundische Chanson,» p. 159 (tenor only); Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 14.

SPURIOUS WORKS

Regali ex progenie

Old Hall, fols. 38v-39, à 3 «Fonteyns»///Hughes and Bent, *Old Hall*, I, 141; Ramsbot- ham, *Old Hall*, I, 159.

Kyrie

Apt, fol. 5, à 3 «Perrinet»///Gastoué, *Trésor d'Apt*, p. 17; Stäblein-Harder, *Mass Music*, p. 11

NICOLAS GRENON

Nicolas Grenon did not make up part of the chapel of Duke Philip the Bold in 1385, as is often stated. The first extant record of his activities dates from the year 1399, when he is listed as a clerk at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris and named to replace his deceased brother Jean Grenon as a canon at the church of le St. Sépulcre in Paris (Archives nationales, LL 109a, p. 19). In 1401, Grenon was elevated from subdeacon to deacon of le St. Sépulcre (Archives

nationales, LL 109a, pp. 135 and 141). By 1403, he had travelled to Laon to be «magister puerorum» at the cathedral, a position which he held until 1408 (Archives nationales, LL 109b, p. 453; and Pirro, *Histoire*, p. 55). For a short period in 1408-1409, Grenon was in Cambrai where he taught grammar to the six choirboys of the cathedral and sang in the choir. He resigned this post in late July of 1409 (AN, 4 G 6789) and by 1st August 1412 had been taken into the service of Duke John the Fearless as master of the choirboys of the Burgundian chapel (ACO, B 1572, fol. 23; doc. 160). His duties required him to feed, clothe, and house his wards and instruct them «en l'art de musique.» Between 1413 and 1418, Grenon evidently spent much time with the duke's retinue in Flanders and late in 1415 was in Dijon. After the assassination of John the Fearless in 1419, Grenon returned to the cathedral of Cambrai where he is listed in 1421 and 1423 (CBM, 1056, fols. 98v and 125); then, between 1425 and 1427, he resided in Italy as master of the choirboys of the chapel of Pope Martin V (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» pp. 454-456). Subsequent to his sojourn in Italy, he once again returned to Cambrai.

The ecclesiastical benefices acquired by Nicolas Grenon were many: sometime after 1418 he received a prebend at St. Donatien in Bruges (AN, 4 G 1082, No. 62), and in 1424 he was granted canonicates at St. Pierre in Lille and the cathedral of Tournai with expectation of the prebends (Baix, *Chambre apostolique*, p. 113); by the following year he had obtained a prebend in the diocese of Termonde (Berlière, *Diversa cameralia*, p. 47); on 7th February 1427 he was provided with a canonicate at the cathedral of Cambrai and that same year is listed as a canon at Lens near Lille (CBM, 1046, fol. 141; and AN, 4 G 6462); and in April 1431 Grenon is said to have possessed benefices in the dioceses of Arras, Cambrai, Chartres, and Tarentaise (Baix, *Chambre apostolique*, p. 113; see also Dubrulle, «Curie romaine,» p. 387).

Grenon's activities during his later life are well documented. He continued to serve the court of Burgundy on an occasional basis: in 1437 he was paid for having helped celebrate the divine service in the hotel of Duke Philip the Good in Bruges (AN, B 17656; cited in Marix, *Histoire*, p. 155); and in 1449 he is recorded to have read the Gospel before Philip at a mass said in the cathedral of Cambrai (Dupont, *Cambrai*, II, xvi-xxi). The chapter of the cathedral in 1430 charged the composer to supervise the purchase of robes for the choirboys and their master (AN, 4 G 7761); and in 1437 his colleagues named him to administer the finances of the «petits vicaires»—those men employed to sing daily the mass and canonical hours (CBM, 1057, fol. 52). An account of 1442-1443 shows that he had assisted in copying «pluribus Patrem, Et in terra, ac aliis carminibus musicae» for the choir (AN, 4 G 4649, fol. 26). His almost constant presence at the cathedral enabled Grenon to act on behalf of musicians who might be absent therefrom: on 12th November 1436, he served as procurator for a canonicate at Cambrai for Guillaume Dufay (CBM, 1057, fol. 39); and ten

years later he acquired a canonical house in the name of Symon le Breton, a singer at the court of Burgundy and friend of Dufay (CBM, 1058, fol. 65v). Grenon's domicile in Cambrai, which was situated next to the house of Dufay, only a few meters to the east of the cathedral, was likewise owned by the chapter (AN, 4 G 4653, fol. 2v). On 9th December 1447, it became necessary for the canons of the cathedral to enjoin Grenon to cease to allow one Jeanne Rous-selle, a woman of ill repute («multum diffamatam»), to cohabit his dwelling (CBM, 1058, fol. 140v). Nicolas Grenon died on 17th October 1456 (CBM, 1059, fol. 239v). The vigil of his exequies was held in the cathedral on 19th October with the funeral rites being executed the following day (CBM, 1059, fol. 239v). The grave of the composer was constructed below the clock of the cathedral and before the image of St. Agnes (a record of payment to the grave digger is still preserved in the municipal library in Cambrai [CBM, 1059, fol. 242v]). A bronze plaque in memory of the deceased was erected above the remains and was still visible in the eighteenth century (CBM, 1046, fol. 141).

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Je ne requier de ma dame

Modena M.5.24, fols. 45v-46, à 3 (contratenor by Matteo da Perugia) «Grenon»; Parma 75, fol. 233v (the second and third strophes of text only); Strassburg 222 C.22, fol. 96v (lost) This chanson is also preserved in a fragmentary manuscript recently acquired by Dr. Stanley Boorman of Cambridge, England///Apel, *Compositions*, I, 65; Fano, *Matteo da Perugia*, p. 387; Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 1; Wolf, *Sing- und Spielmusik*, p. 33.

Je suy defait

Canonici 213, fol. 32v, à 3 «Nicolaus Grenon»///Bessler, *Mittelalters*, p. 192; Stainer, *Dufay*, p. 162.

La plus belle et douce figure

Paris 6771, fols. 114v-115, à 3 «Grenon»///Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 4; Wilkins, *15th-Century*, p. 31.

La plus jolie et la plus belle

Canonici 213, fol. 87v, à 3 «Nicolaus Grenon»; Paris 6771, fols. 91v-92, à 3 /// Dannemann, *Spätgotische Musiktradition*, p. 113; Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 6; Wilkins, *15th-Century*, p. 3.

Se je vous ay bien

Bologna 2216, p. 112, à 2; Canonici 213, fol. 81v, à 2 «Nicolaus Grenon»; Paris 4917, fol. 4v, à 2; Paris 6771, fols. 92v-93, à 3 «Grenon»///Dannemann, *Spätgotische Musiktradition*, p. 134; Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 7; Wilkins, *15th-Century*, p. 3.

Ad honorem sanctae trinitatis—Coelorum regnum

Bologna Q 15, fols. 216v-217, à 4 «Grenon»; Canonici 213, fols. 127v-128, à 4 «Nicholaus Grenon»///Borren, *Polyphonia sacra*, p. 203.

Ave virtus virtutum—Prophetarum fulti suffragio—Infelix

Canonici 213, fols. 120v-121, à 4 «Nicolaus Grenon»///Borren, *Polyphonia sacra*, p. 194.

Nova vobis gaudia

Bologna Q 15, fols. 198v-199, à 3 «Grenon»///Anglès, *Historia*, p. 383; Marix, *Musiciens*, p. 233.

Plasmatoris humani—Verbigne mater ecclesia

Bologna Q 15, fols. 230v-231, à 4 «Nicolaus Grenon».

Et in terra

Trent 92, fol. 121v (incomplete) «Grenon».

RICHARD BELLENGUES called CARDOT

Cardot (or Cardinet) Bellegues, like Pierre Fontaine and Guillaume le Rouge, was a native of the town of Rouen (Rombauts, *Bruxelles illustrée*, I, 316). He entered the chapel of Burgundy in 1415 and served there until the death of John the Fearless in 1419 (Bibl. nat., CB 55, fol. 189; and ACO, B 1601, fol. 58v [LIXv]; doc. 170). Between 1422 and 1425, Cardot was a member of the chapel of Pope Martin V (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» pp. 453 and 455). During these years, he held a canonicate at the church of Notre Dame of Ligny in the diocese of Toul (Haberl, «Wilhelm du Fay,» p. 453; see also Dubrulle, «Curie romaine,» p. 384) and was provided with a prebend in the church of St. Willibrod near Antwerp (Berlière, *Diversa cameralia*, p. 31). By 1430, Cardot had apparently rejoined the chapel of Burgundy and like Fontaine, le Rouge, and other members of the chapel, he is named in Binchois' motet *Nove cantum melodie*. This term of service at the Burgundian court lasted until 1464 (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 191). Cardot Bellegues died on 25th February 1470 at the age of ninety and was buried in the church of Ste. Gudule in Brussels (Rombauts, *Bruxelles illustrée*, I, 316 and II, 82-83).

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Pour une fois et pour toute ma vye

Canonici 213, fol. 122, à 3 «Cardot»///Reaney, *Fifteenth-Century Music*, II, 19; Stainer, *Dufay*, p. 85.

GUILLAUME LE ROUGE (RUBY)

He is named by the poet Eloy d'Amerval along with Dunstable, Dufay, Binchois, and others as one of the «great musicians» of the fifteenth century (Amerval, *Deablerie*, p.226). Le Rouge apparently received his musical training at the cathedral of Rouen and is recorded as having played the organ in that church in 1399 (Collette and Bourdon, *Orgues*, pp. 11-12). He was not a member of the chapel of King Charles VI of France in the early years of the fifteenth century, as has often been stated. In the summer of 1415, le Rouge joined the chapel of the duke of Burgundy and then during the 1420's apparently served at the collegiate church Sainte Chapelle in Dijon (Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 218; and Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 138). By 1431, he had returned to the domestic chapel of the court of Burgundy under Duke Philip the Good and worked there as a singer, scribe, and composer for twenty years (Marix, *Histoire*, p. 174). In 1451, le Rouge left the court of Burgundy and entered the chapel of the poet-prince, Duke Charles of Orléans (Archives nationales, KK 271, fol. 23v). He last appears in the documents of the court of Orléans in 1456.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES and MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

Se je fayz deuil

Mellon, pp. 78-81, à 3 «G. le Rouge»; Schedelsches Liederbuch, fols. 24v and 103v, à 3///Leeman L. Perkins, «The Mellon Chansonnier» (in progress).

Mass Mon cuer pleure

Lost; referred to by Johannes Tinctoris (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, IV, 171); possibly built upon Pierre Fontaine's rondeau *Mon cuer pleure*.

Mass Soyez aprantiz

San Pietro B 80, fols. 71-80, à 3; Trent 90, fols. 310v-318, à 3 «W. le Rouge»///DTÖ, vol. 120, 47 and 95.

APPENDIX B

Documents Extracted from the Account Books
of the Court of Burgundy

The account books which provide the documentary basis for this study have been described in the introduction. The most important of these ledgers, namely those of the receiver-general of all finances, of the duchy of Burgundy, of the county of Flanders, and those included in the *Collection de Bourgogne*, are enumerated below. Other manuscripts such as the accounts of the *argentier*, the *chambre aux deniers* and the *escroes* of the hotel, and batches of mandements and quittances were consulted but are too numerous to list. All sources are presently housed either in the Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or (ACO) in Dijon, the Archives départementales du Nord (AN) in Lille, or the Bibliothèque nationale (Bibl. nat.) in Paris. The extracts given here are presented as they are found in the account books, excepting the addition of punctuation and grammatical accents, the change of numbers from Roman to Arabic, and the substitution, where necessary, of dates in new style for those in old.

ACCOUNTS OF THE RECEIVER-GENERAL OF ALL FINANCES

ACO, B 1467	22nd January 1387–31st January 1388
ACO, B 1469	1st February 1388–31st January 1389
ACO, B 1475	1st February 1389–29th May 1389
ACO, B 1479	1st June 1389–24th January 1391
ACO, B 1487	14th February 1391–2nd May 1392
ACO, B 1495	7th June 1392–23rd April 1393
ACO, B 1500	24th April 1393–31st July 1394
ACO, B 1501	1st August 1394–1st February 1395
ACO, B 1503	26th January 1395–31st December 1395
ACO, B 1508	1st January 1396–31st December 1396
ACO, B 1511	1st November 1396–4th February 1397
ACO, B 1514	1st February 1398–31st January 1399
ACO, B 1517	1st February 1399–31st January 1400
ACO, B 1519	1st February 1400–31st January 1401
ACO, B 1521	1st February 1401–21st March 1401
ACO, B 1526	22nd March 1401–21st March 1402
ACO, B 1532	22nd March 1402–30th September 1403
ACO, B 1538	1st October 1403–16th June 1404
ACO, B 1543 and	
AN, B 1878	5th November 1405–19th November 1406
ACO, B 1547	22nd November 1406–21st November 1407
ACO, B 1554	22nd November 1407–21st November 1408
ACO, B 1556	22nd November 1408–31st January 1409
ACO, B 1558	1st February 1409–31st January 1410

ACO, B 1560 1st February 1410—31st January 1411
 ACO, B 1562 1st February 1411—17th April 1411
 ACO, B 1570 and
 AN, B 1894 17th April 1411—30th April 1412
 ACO, B 1571 and
 AN, B 1897 1st May 1412—15th October 1412
 ACO, B 1572 and
 ACO, B 1573 16th October 1412—3rd February 1413
 ACO, B 1576 21st February 1413—31st December 1413
 AN, B 1903 19th March 1414—18th April 1415
 ACO, B 1601 1st January 1419—30th June 1419
 ACO, B 1603 1st July 1419—10th September 1419

*ACCOUNTS OF THE RECEIVER-GENERAL
 OF THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY*

ACO, B 1417 1st November 1364—1st November 1365
 ACO, B 1423 1st November 1365—1st November 1366
 ACO, B 1424 1st November 1366—30th April 1367
 ACO, B 1430 1st May 1367—1st May 1368
 ACO, B 1435 27th March 1371—31st March 1372
 ACO, B 1438 20th July 1372—25th May 1373
 ACO, B 1441 1st August 1373—1st August 1374
 ACO, B 1444 1st August 1374—31st July 1375
 ACO, B 1445 1st August 1375—31st July 1376
 ACO, B 1451 1st August 1376—31st July 1377
 ACO, B 1452 1st August 1377—31st July 1378
 ACO, B 1454 1st August 1378—31st July 1379
 ACO, B 1457 18th July 1379—21st May 1380
 ACO, B 1460 1st June 1382—31st May 1383
 ACO, B 1461 1st June 1383—1st June 1384
 ACO, B 1462 1st June 1385—1st June 1386
 ACO, B 1463 1st June 1384—1st June 1385
 ACO, B 1465 1st June 1386—1st June 1387
 ACO, B 1470 1st June 1387—1st June 1388
 ACO, B 1473 1st June 1388—7th February 1389
 ACO, B 1474 8th February 1389—5th February 1390
 ACO, B 1478 6th February 1390—18th May 1390
 ACO, B 1480 19th May 1390—13th February 1391
 ACO, B 1484 14th February 1391—29th February 1392
 ACO, B 1490 1st March 1392—28th February 1393
 ACO, B 1494 1st March 1393—27th March 1394
 ACO, B 1499 25th March 1394—24th March 1395
 ACO, B 1502 25th March 1395—24th March 1396
 ACO, B 1507 25th March 1396—24th March 1397
 ACO, B 1513 25th March 1397—30th April 1398
 ACO, B 1515 1st May 1398—30th April 1399
 ACO, B 1518 1st May 1399—30th April 1400

ACO, B 1522 1st May 1400—6th August 1400
 ACO, B 1528 6th August 1401—5th August 1402
 ACO, B 1534 6th August 1402—5th August 1403
 ACO, B 1559 12th April 1409—31st December 1410
 ACO, B 1560 1st January 1410—31st March 1411
 ACO, B 1563 31st March 1411—3rd November 1411
 ACO, B 1569 4th November 1411—31st December 1412
 ACO, B 1588 27th November 1415—31st December 1417
 ACO, B 1594 1st January 1418—31st December 1418
 ACO, B 1598 1st January 1419—31st December 1419

*ACCOUNTS OF THE RECEIVER-GENERAL
 OF THE COUNTY OF FLANDERS*

AN, B 4069 30th March 1379—22nd May 1380
 AN, B 4070 22nd May 1380—7th July 1381
 AN, B 4071 8th July 1381—3rd March 1382
 AN, B 4072 4th March 1382—30th January 1384
 AN, B 4073 30th January 1384—24th June 1385
 AN, B 4074 24th June 1385—11th March 1386
 AN, B 4075 11th March 1386—10th March 1387
 AN, B 4076 10th March 1387—11th March 1388
 AN, B 4077 11th March 1388—30th October 1388
 AN, B 4079 1st February 1394—1st February 1395
 AN, B 4080 1st February 1395—31st January 1396
 AN, B 4081 1st February 1396—31st January 1397
 AN, B 4082 31st January 1400—31st January 1401
 AN, B 4084 31st January 1401—31st January 1402
 AN, B 4085 31st January 1402—31st January 1403
 AN, B 4086 24th January 1411—24th June 1412
 AN, B 4088 24th June 1415—24th June 1416
 AN, B 4089 25th June 1416—26th November 1416
 AN, B 4090 26th November 1416—24th June 1418
 AN, B 4091 24th June 1418—6th February 1420

COLLECTION DE BOURGOGNE

Bibliothèque nationale, Collection de Bourgogne, Vols. 21, 23-26, 51, 53-58, 65, 95, 98, 100, 104, and 110:

* * * * *

1. A Thomas de Hedincourt et à ses compagnons, menestriers de bouche et de quicterne, lesquels avoient joué devant mon dit seigneur, pour don à eulx fait. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur.... donné à Argilly le IX jour d'octobre 1367.... III franz. (ACO, B 1430, fol. 43)

2. A Gillet de Toul, menestrier, pour don à lui fait par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour ce que par plusieurs foiz il a joué de la quicterne devant monseigneur. Par son mandement.... donné à Beaune le XXVe jour de juillet 1368.... II franz.
(ACO, B 1430, fol. 114v)

3. A Fedelic, Jaquinot de Vaingnorry, Commin et Claux, menestriers de monseigneur, pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour aler aux escoles en ce present karesme. Par mandement de monseigneur.... donné au Bois de Vincennes le XVe jour de fevrier 1369 [n.s.], et quittance donnee XXe jour du dit mois de fevrier.... IIIxx franz.
(ACO, B 1430, fol. 118v)

4. Aus menestriex du conte de Flandres pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour ce que par plusieurs foiz il[s] avoient joué et fait mestier à Gand devant mon dit seigneur.... Donné à Douze en Flandres le XXIXe jour de juing 1369.... XL franz.
(ACO, B 1430, fol. 165)

5. A Jehan de Quincy, menestrier de salteron, pour semblable. Par mandement de monseigneur donné le III de may 1371.... XII livres tournois.
(ACO, B 1435, fol. LXIII)

6. Et à un menestrier de Jehan monseigneur, pour rapareillier sa quicterne pour don à lui fait, I franc.... Donné à Rouvre II jour de juillet 1374.
(ACO, B 1441, fol. LIX)

7. A Loys Molier, menestrier de monseigneur, pour faire les despens de luj et de son cheval en alant en Alemaigne querre aucuns menestriers pour monseigneur là ou il l'envoie. Par mandement de monseigneur senz autre quittance donné à Talent III de septembre 1374.... X franz.
(ACO, B 1444, fol. IIIxxIIv)

8. A Alfont, menestrier de monseigneur, pour don à luj fait, X franz. A III menestriers de monseigneur le duc d'Orliens pour semblable, XXX frans.... A plusieurs menestriers qui jouerent le jour du baptesme de ma damoiselle Marguerite le jour des relevailles de madame et le jour des noces de Guillaume de la Tremoille, son chambellan, pour don fait à eulx, VIxxXI franz.... Donné XVI de novembre 1374.
(ACO, B 1444, fol. LXX)

9. A un menestrier de bouche qui est au conte de Savoie qui recorda plusieurs diz devant madame, pour don, II frans...Donné à Jaucourt III d'avril 1375 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1445, fol. VIxxIv)

10. A menestriers qui avoient chanté devant monseigneur à Bruges pour don fait à eulx, VI frans.... A III menestriers qui avoient joué de la quicterne et de la harpe devant

monseigneur pour semblable, VIII franz demj. A maistre Jehan Quoquart, menestrier de monseigneur Robert de Namur, pour semblable, X franz.... Aus menestriers du Roy d'Angleterre pour semblable en l'Escuz de Flandres, LXI frans II s. VI d. tournois. Aus menestriers du duc Aubert pour semblable, XL franz I gros de France.... Aus menestriers du Roy Henry d'Espaigne pour semblable, XX franz.... Et aus menestriers du comte de Bloix et plusieurs autres menestriers qui avoient joué devant monseigneur pour don, XL frans. Pour tout par mandement de monseigneur senz quittance donné à Bruges XIII d'avril 1375 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXVIIIv)

11. A Gauthier, harpeur de monseigneur, pour don à luj fait de grace especial pour luj vestir et chaucier. Par mandement de monseigneur senz quittance donné à Bruges III de may 1375.... X franz.
(ACO, B 1444, fol. IIIxx)

12. A maistre Jehan, narcarin du duc de Lencastre, pour don à luj fait, III frans.... Donné XXVIII de may 1375.
(ACO, B 1444, fol. LXXIX)

13. Deniers paiez par Amiot Arnaut, receveur general des finances de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne, pour dons que mon dit seigneur a faiz: aux menestriers du Roy d'Escosse pour don à eulx fait ce jour [XXIII juin 1375], XX fr. ; et à Claux, taborin de monseigneur de Flandres, X fr. pour ce; [à] Thiery et Arnoul, menestriers de mon dit seigneur de Flandres, X fr.; aus menestrez de monseigneur de Flandres le IIII jour de juillet, XL fr.; aus menestrez de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne qui vont en Angleterre le dit IIII de juillet, XX frans....
(ACO, 33 F 10, liasse, no folio)

14. A Gilebert, joueur d'orgues, qui avoit joué devant le Roy pour don à luj fait ceste fois de grace especial, XII frans.... Par mandement de monseigneur senz autre quittance donné à Villeposque XXIII de juillet 1375.
(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxIIIv)

15. A l'arpeur de monseigneur pour acheter une rote pour jouer devant monseigneur, XXX frans....Donné à Dijon XXIII d'aoust 1375.
(ACO, B 1445, fol. LXXI)

16. A plusieurs menestriers et heraux de plusieurs seigneurs qui avoient joué devant monseigneur, XL franz.... A un menestrier de bouche qui fit mestier devant monseigneur, II frans. Aus menestriers du seigneur de Halruy, X frans. Aus menestriers du Roy de Bahaine, XV frans.... A plusieurs joueurs de vielle qui avoient joué devant monseigneur, X frans. A deux chanteuses de Paris qui avoient chanté devant monseigneur, X frans.... Donné à St. Omer XIX de decembre 1375.
(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIxxXIII)

17. A maistre Jehan de Horlande, menestrier du duc Aubert, pour don fait à luy, IIII frans. Aus menestriers de duc de Brabant pour semblable, XX frans.... Et un menestrier qui avoit joué de l'eschiquier devant monseigneur, VI frans.... Donné à Esclou en Flandres XXVIII de janvier 1376 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIIxxXIII)

18. Aus menestriers du duc Aubert pour don fait à eulx par monseigneur, XX frans. A la trompette de monseigneur pour achater et paier une trompette, X frans.... Aus menestriers du Roy d'Angleterre pour semblable, L frans.... Aus menestriers du Roy d'Escoce et autres qui avoient joué devant monseigneur, XXIII frans. A plusieurs autres communs menestrier, X frans.... A II petis enfens, menestrier de bouche, I franc.... A un faiseur de rondeaux demeurant à Bruges, IIII frans; et à Voulter, arpeur de monseigneur, pour don à luj fait pour luj vestir, III frans.... Donné à Bruges XXIX de mars 1376 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIIxxXVv)

19. A Nycolas de Hallefour, Jehan de Dinant et Louys Mulier, menestriers de monseigneur, pour don fait à eulx ceste foiz de grace especial pour faire certain voiage en Engleterre ou monseigneur les avoit envoiez avec le duc d'Alencaster. Par mandement de monseigneur et quittance donnee XXI d'avril.... 1376.... VIxx frans.

(ACO, B 1445, fol. CI)

20. A plusieurs menestriers qui jouerent devant monseigneur le jour de l'ascension darrniement passé.... XII franz. Aux menestriers du sire d'Autremont qui jouerent devant monseigneur à Saint Anthoine de Viennois ou monseigneur avoit esté en pelerinaige, III franz. A VII menestrelles qui jouerent à Mascon devant monseigneur en venant du dit Saint Anthoine, XII franz; et à Aiglautine la menestrelle [fol. LXXVIIv] et à sa compaignie qui ont chanté devant monseigneur à Chalon, III franz.... Donné darrenier de may 1376.

(ACO, B 1451, fols. LXXVII-LXXVIIv)

21. A quatre menestriers du conte de Flandres qui estoient venuz en la compaignie de madame du dit Flandres à Paris, lesquelz ont par plusieurs fois fait mestier devant monseigneur, pour don fait à eulx ceste foiz de grace especial. Par mandement de ma dicte dame senz autre quittance donné à Paris III de juing 1376.... XXX franz.

(ACO, B 1445, fol. IIIIxxXVIv)

22. A plusieurs menestriers et heraus qui firent fest devant monseigneur le II jour de septembre, IIIIxx franz.... A plusieurs chanteresses qui chanterent devant monseigneur, II franz. Aux menestriers du seigneur de la Riviere que monseigneur fit donner, XXX franz. A une menestrier de quisterne qui fit feste devant monseigneur à Valence, IIII franz. A un menestrier et sa femme qui chanterent devant monseigneur le Xe jour de septembre, II franz; et à La Forriere, menestrier, qui par plusieurs foiz chanta devant monseigneur.... Donné à Chalon le XIII jour de septembre 1376.

(ACO, B 1451, fol. LXXIIIv)

23. A Jehannin de Dignant, Harefort et Loyset, menestriers de monseigneur, pour don fait à eulx ceste foiz de grace especial pour faire les despens deulz, de leurs varles et chevaux en alant aux escoles où monseigneur les avoit envoiez et pour retourner devers mon dit seigneur. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee le mercredj IIII de fevrier 1377 [n.s.].... VIxx franz.

(ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIIxxIv)

24. A deux trompettes et à IIII menestriers, les II de chaulemelle et les autres deux de cornemuse, du conte de Savoie, lesquelx avoient fait mestier et joué devant madame. Par mandement de ma dicte dame senz autre quittance donné à Dijon V de fevrier 1377 [n.s.].... XXVI franz.

(ACO, B 1451, fol. IIIIxxIII)

25. Aux menestriers de monseigneur pour don fait à eulx par monseigneur ceste foiz de grace especial pour aler de Gand en Allemagne aux escoles et retourner devers monseigneur; et pour supporter les frez et missions qu'il[s] feront ou dit voiage. Par mandement de monseigneur senz autre quittance donné à Paris VI de mars 1378 [n.s.].... C franz.

(ACO, B 1452, fol. 65)

26. A Jehan de Dignant, Alfons et Loyset, menestrels, et Nicolas, tabourin de monseigneur, qui deus leur estoient pour leurs gaiges ordinaires qu'ils prenent en l'ostel de monseigneur dès le VIe jour de juillet 1378 jusqu'au XVe jour du dit mois tout incluz, ouquel temps a XI jours entiers. Par lequel temps ils ont esté par l'ordonance et du congie de mon dit seigneur en savoie et en la conté de Bourgogne, lesquelz gaiges mon dit seigneur leur a donnes de grace especial pourveu que par les X jours aucune chose ne leur ait esté païé ne compté par les escroes de l'ostel d'ycellui monseigneur.... Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné XXVIII d'aoust 1378.... XXVI frans ung gros.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 40 [XLIX])

27. A Odenarde et Gillet le Boiteux, menestrez de bouche, pour don fait à eulx par monseigneur ceste foiz de grace especial.... Donné à Chasteillon sur Saine XXVIII de septembre 1378.... XVI franz.

(ACO, B 1454, fol. 78)

28. A plusieurs chanteurs et chanteresses qui avoient chanté devant mon dit seigneur au dit lieu de Cambray pour samblable, IIII franz. A plusieurs enfanz du cuer de Nostre Dame de Cambray qui avoient chanté devant mon dit seigneur pour semblable, II franz.... Donné XXVIII d'octobre 1378.

(ACO, B 1454, fol. 80v)

29. A Jehan de Dignant, menestrier de monseigneur, pour don fait lui par mon dit seigneur de grace especial, lequel estoit demouré malade à Paris, pour lui aidier à paier ses plusieurs cirrriens et faire ses autres fraiz en sa maladie.... Donné XXIX d'octobre 1378.... X franz.

(ACO, B 1454, fol. 80v)

30. A Hennequin de Namur, changeur demourant à Gand, qui deuz lui estoient pour un gobelet d'argent doré pesant au pois de Troiez II mars, lequel madame la duchesse a fait acheter et prendre de lui.... et icellui donna au bapisement du filz de Jaques, harpeur de monseigneur le conte de Flandres, lequel ma dicte dame fit tenir sur fons, XIX franz demi.... Donné à Gand VI de novembre 1378.

(ACO, B 1454, fol. 65v)

31. Et à pluseurs chanteresses de Paris qui avoient chanté devant mon dit seigneur pour samblable, II franz.... Donné à Paris XIII de decembre 1378.

(ACO, B 1454, fol. 82v)

32. Item, payet du comandement monseigneur [de Flandres] les parties ensuivent: premiers, XL frans de France que monseigneur fist donnes as menestrelz le Roy d'Engleterre au dit mois de march [1381 n.s.].

(AN, B 4071, fol. LIIv)

33. Loys, contes de Flandres, duc de Brabant, contes de Nevers, de Rethel, et sires de Malines.... de nostre commandement pour une trompette d'argent nouvelle que Jehan Rousseaux, nostre trompette fist faire à l'Escluse, pour nous servir.... Donné à Bruges le XXVII jour de decembre l'an 1381.... V livres XV solz.

(AN, B 3239, No. 111882)

34. Item, III menestrelz d'Almaigne le XVIIe jour de fevrier, XX frans.... Item, que monseigneur [de Flandres] fist donné as chapellains et clers de sa chapelle.... à sire Jehan Amidon, XXIII livres; sire Pierre Gremigny, XXIII livres; messire Nicole Barin, XXIII livres. Item à Jehan Grosseteste, XXIII livres; Jehan Martin, XXIII livres; Jehan Hamencourt, XXIII livres; et à Henekin, XVI livres.... Lettres de monseigneur donnes le XVIIe jour d'avril 1383.

(AN, B 4072, fol. 46)

35. Item, à messire Jehan Dambrun et Henry Potage que monseigneur leur a fait donné en Courtoisie, à chascun, XXIII livres. Ainsi que par lettres de monseigneur appert, donnes le IIe jour de may 1383.

(AN, B 4072, fol. 46v)

36. A I menesterel de bouche qui dist devant monseigneur au Louvre plusieurs diz et balades, pour don à luy fait par mon dit seigneur, VIII frans.... Donné XXII de juillet 1383.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 75 [IIIIxxIIII])

37. A Nicolas de la Marche, trompette de monseigneur, pour don à luy fait [fol. 110] par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour avoir un cheval à luy monter en la chevauchee que le Roy nostre sire a faite es parties de Flandres à l'encontre de ses ennemies. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee III d'aoust 1383.... XX frans.

(ACO, B 1461, fols. 109v-110 [CXVIIIv-CXIX])

38. A plusieurs menestrels, vieleurs et chanteurs qui pour plusieurs jours ont joué et chanté devant madame et ses enffens environ la feste de toussains dernièrement passé, pour don à eulx fait par ma dicte dame.... Donné III de novembre 1383.... V frans.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 104v [CXIIIv])

39. Aux menestrelz de monseigneur le duc de Berry qui ont fait leur mestier devant monseigneur, XXX frans. Aux menestrels de monseigneur le duc de Bourbon pour semblable, XV frans.... Donné XXIX de novembre 1383.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 113v [CXXIIv])

40. Reims, Baudennet de. Retenu joueur de harpe du duc de Bourgogne aux gages de lui et d'un cheval, tant qu'il sera en l'hostel de mondit seigneur. Par lettres donnes au Bois de Vincennes le X janvier 1384 [n.s.].

(Bibl. nat., CB 25, fol. 24)

41. A Baudenet de Reims, lequel monseigneur a naguere retenu son joueur de harpe, pour don à luy fait par mon dit seigneur pour une foiz de grace especial pour avoir un cheval et ses neccessites en estant ou service de mon dit seigneur. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee XXIX de janvier 1384 [n.s.].... XXVI frans.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 118 [CXXVII])

42. A Henry Potaige, clerc de monseigneur, pour don à luy fait par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour soy en retourner ou pays de monseigneur en Flandre ouquel il a sa demourance. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee VI de fevrier 1384 [n.s.].... X frans.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 118 [CXXVII])

43. A Jehan de Dynant, Alphon, Loyset Mulier et Claux Tabourin, menestrels de monseigneur, pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur ceste foiz de grace especial pour aler en Alemaigne aux escoles de leur dit mestier en la karesme 1384 [n.s.]. C'est assavoir: à chascun d'eulx, L frans. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee VIII de fevrier 1384 [n.s.].... IIc frans.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 117v [CXXVIv])

44. Aux chapellains et clers de la chappelle de feu monseigneur le conte de Flandres [fol. 162v] qui dieux pardoint, pour faire leurs depens et avoir leurs neccessitez jusques à ce que autrement monseigneur ait ordonné d'eulx. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance de messire Toussains, chappellain de la chappele de mon dit seigneur, donnee XXI mars 1384 [n.s.].... IIIxx frans.

(ACO, B 1461, fols. 162-162v [CLXXI-CLXXIv])

45. A certains menestrels de bouche qui chanterent devant monseigneur à Orchies, pour don par mondit seigneur à eulx fait, I franc.... Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné VII d'avril 1384.

(ACO, B 1461, fol. 123 [CXXXII])

46. A Nicolas de la Marche, trompette de monseigneur, pour don à luy fait par mon dit seigneur pour acheter une trompette d'argent. Paié à luy par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnée VI de may 1384.... XL frans.
(ACO, B 1461, fol. 125 [CXXXIII])

47. Messire Jehan de Chartres, prestre, retenu par monseigneur son premier chapelain à C frans de pension par an tant comme il plaira à mon dit seigneur pour le bon rapport que fait a esté à mon dit seigneur du dit messire Jehan, lequel a longuement servi le Roy nostre sire en sa chappelle; et luy a octroïé mon dit seigneur de grace especial par ses lettres données à Paris le penultieme jour de may 1384 pour avoir ses necessitez dorenavant chascun an tant comme il sera ou service de mon dit seigneur la dicte somme de C frans, laquelle pour ceste presente annee le dit monseigneur luy veult estre paiee au jour de la date des lettres de mon dit seigneur; et pour les autres annees ensuivantes aux octaves de pasques charnez à commencer le premier terme aux octaves de pasques charnelz 1385 prochain venant. Sicomme toutes choses sont plus à plain contenues es lettres de mon dit seigneur....

A luy pour sa dicte pension d'un an commençant le penultieme jour de may 1384 en fenissant à l'octave de pasques charnez 1385 ensuivant. Par II quittances l'une donnée V de juing 1384 et l'autre VIII de juillet ensuivant.... C frans.
(ACO, B 1461, fol. 35v [XLIIIv])

48. A Jehan de Dynant, Alfons et Loyset, menestriers de monseigneur, pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour avoir des instrumens de leur mestier pour servir mon dit seigneur. Par mandement dudit seigneur et quittance donnée dernier de juing 1384.... XX frans.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 112)

49. A messire Jehan Macon, prestre, chapelain de la Sainte Chapelle royal à Paris, pour la vendue d'un livre de moctes que monseigneur a fait prandre et acheter dudit messire Jehan pour soy mesmes. Par son mandement et quittance donnée XVI de juillet 1384.... XIII fr.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 161)

50. A Claux, tabourin de monseigneur, pour don à luy fait par monseigneur pour les bons et agreables services qu'il a faiz à mon dit seigneur et fait de jour en jour; et pour luy aidier à paier une maison qu'il a achetee à Paris. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnée II de janvier 1385 [n.s.].... L frans.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 131)

51. Aux menestriers du Roy et de monseigneur le duc de Bourbon, pour don à eulx fait par monseigneur pour departir entr'eulx par egal porcions. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnée II de janvier 1385 [n.s.].... C frans.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 131)

52. Aux menestres du Roy de Cecile qui le XXVe jour d'avril 1385 darrenierement passé cornerent devant madame la duchesse, pour don pour ce à eulx fait par madame, X frans.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 141)

53. Aus menestrez du Roy et de monseigneur de Bourbon et à plusieurs autres pour don à eulx fait par monseigneur ceste foiz de grace especial pour ce que le IIIIe jour de may 1385 darrenierement passé ils jouerent de sein mestier en l'ostel de mon dit seigneur à Conflans, devant le Roy, aus noces de Marie de Saint Legier, damoiselle de ma damoiselle la contesse de Nevers. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur senz autre quittance donné le dit IIIIe jour de may en dit an.... C frans.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 146)

54. A Hennequin d'Alemangne, marchant de chevaux de Coloingne, qui deuz luy estoient pour un cheval haquenee grise avec la selle et le harnoiz tout neuf que monseigneur a fait prendre et acheter de luy et ycelluy donné à messire Toussains, chapelain et teneur de la chapelle. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnée IX de may 1385.... LIII frans.
(ACO, B 1463, fol. 105v)

55. A Dom Gilles de Rouais, religieux de l'eglise de Saint Martin de Tournay, pour un instrument nommé eschiquier que monseigneur a fait acheter de lui et mectre en sa chappelle.... XX decembre 1385.... XII fr.
(ACO, B 1462, fol. 127 [VIxxVIII])

56. A Nicolas d'Alphons, Jehan de Dynant, Loyset Moullier, Jossequin de Jardins, Villemote de Honcorgne, Semulle, Claux le taborin et Nicolas la trompette, menestrels de monseigneur, pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur pour les estrainnes du jour de l'an 1386 [n.s.]. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnée V de janvier audit an.... C frans.
(ACO, B 1462, fol. 99 [C])

57. A Jehan de Dynant, Halfons, Louyset, Claux, Guillot, Jossequin et Jacot, menestres de monseigneur, pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur pour leurs escoles de ceste presente annee et pour acheter instrumens. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnée XXIII de mars 1386 [n.s.].... IIIIc frans.
(ACO, B 1462, fol. 109v [CXv])

58. A Hennequin Houdanc, VI frans, lesquels mon dit seigneur lui a donnez de grace especial pour une foiz pour aprendre à jouer des orgues.... Item, à messire Jehan de Chartres, premier chapelain de monseigneur, VIII frans, lesquels il a baillez pour mon dit seigneur et par son commandement, c'est assavoir: III frans pour une douzaine de chemises que il achata derranierement quant mon dit seigneur fu à Chartres; et III frans que mon dit seigneur donna aux margliers de l'eglise de Chartres; et un franc pour l'offrende que mon dit seigneur fist jour de pasques au palais. Pour tout par mandement dudit monseigneur senz quittance donné XXIII d'avril apres pasques 1386.
(ACO, B 1465, fol. 102 [CII])

59. A frere Robert Souvent, religieux de Saint Katherine du val des escoliers à Paris, pour don à luy fait par monseigneur de grace especial pour luy aidier à faire ses frais en alent à l'escole du chant ou mon dit seigneur a ordonné qu'il aille pour aprendre à chanter afin que mieulx puisse servir mon dit seigneur en l'estat de chapellain ouquel le dit monseigneur l'entent à retenir. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee XXVIII d'avril 1386.... XX frans.

(ACO, B 1462, fol. 110 [CXI])

60. Item, illec III frans qu'il fist donner à III menestrez du sire de Hamiers. Item, III frans VI s. que il fist donner illec à ung menestrel de trompette qui estoit à ung évesque d'Alemaingne.... Donnè XIII de septembre 1386.

(ACO, B 1465, fol. 31 [XXXI])

61. A Colinet de Hamencourt, cleric de la chappelle de monseigneur, pour don à lui fait par mon dit seigneur ceste fois de grace especial pour ses despens faiz en alent nagaires de la volenté dudit monseigneur en Avignon devers nostre saint pere, pour la prevision des chappelains et clerics de la chappelle dudit monseigneur et en retournant devers mon dit seigneur. Par mandement dudit monseigneur et quittance donnee penultieme de septembre 1386.... XX frans.

(ACO, B 1465, fol. 87 [IIIxxVII])

62. A Crenisse, Jaquinot, Triboul, Contorix, menestres du Roy nostre sire et à Helfons, Loyset, Jehan de Dinant, Claus Tabourin, menestrez de monseigneur et à Nicolas de Condon, trompette dudit monseigneur, pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur à distribuer et partir entr'eulx par egaul porcion pour leurs estraines du premier jour du mois de janvier. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donnè III dudit janvier 1387 [n.s.], et quittance [fol. 80v] donnee V dudit mois oudit an.... C frans.

(ACO, B 1465, fols. 80-80v [IIIxx-IIIxxv])

63. A deux petiz menestrez qui ont joué devant mon dit seigneur de la harpe, pour don à eulx fait ceste foiz, X frans; et à III petiz menestrez de monseigneur de Bourbon, XX fr., lesquelx mon dit seigneur leur a donnez. Pour tout par mandement de mon dit seigneur senz quittance donnè VII de janvier 1387 [n.s.].... XXX frans.

(ACO, B 1465, fol. 103 [CIII])

64. Item, aux menestres de messeigneurs de Berry et de Bourbon que monseigneur leur donna quant ilz cornerent à Paris devant ledit monseigneur, C frans.... Par mandement du dit monseigneur donnè le XIIIe jour de fevrier 1387 [n.s.] senz quittance.

(ACO, B 1469, fol. 45 [XLV])

65. A frere Robert Souvent, moisne chapellain de monseigneur, pour don à lui fait par mon dit seigneur pour luy aidier à avoir ses bulles de certain benefice que nostre saint pere le Pape li a donnè. Par mandement donnè à Lille XXVII de may 1387.... XXX franz.

(ACO, B 1495, fol. 47v [XLVIIv])

66. Audit Alfont, menestrier de monseigneur, pour autre don à lui fait par ledit monseigneur pour l'achat de certain instrument qu'il a acheté par l'ordonnance de mon dit seigneur. Par son mandement donnè le XII jour de juing 1387.... XX frans.

(ACO, B 1469, fol. 86 [IIIxxVI])

67. A Guiot Fresnel, demourant à Paris, qui deuz lui estoient pour unes orgues portatives pour jouer devant monseigneur, lesquelles ledit monseigneur a prinses et achetees de lui et ycelles fait baillier à Baudenet de Rains, son harpeur et varlet de chambre. Par mandement du dit monseigneur, certifficacion dudit Baudenet de la recepcion des orgues et quittance dudit Guiot.... IIIxx frans. [no specific date given; the adjacent entries are for the year 1388]

(ACO, B 1469, fol. 61 [LXI])

68. A messire Clement Petit, premier chapellain du Roy nostre sire, pour unes orgues que mondit seigneur a achetees de lui; lesquelles orgues mondit seigneur a fait mettre et laisser en son hostel d'Artois à Paris par messire Jehan de Chartres, son premier chapellain. Par mandement du dit monseigneur, certifficacion dudit messire Chartres donnee le XIII jour de may 1388.... C fr.

(ACO, B 1475, fol. 60v [LXv])

69. Item, pour XXVIII aunes de drap vermeil et drap noir de Bruxelles qu'il a donna à ses VII menestrels, c'est assavoir, Alphons, Loyset, Jehan de Dynant, Claus le Tabourin, Jossequin, Willemot de Hycorne et Jacot Smul, à chascun d'eulz IIII aunes au pris de XL s. par l'aune, valent LXX frans.... Donnè le XVe jour de decembre 1388.

(ACO, B 1476, fol. 22v [XXIIv])

70. A Jehan Oudanch, cleric de la chappelle de monseigneur, qu'il avoit payez pour l'apportage des grans ogres dudit monseigneur que le dit monseigneur fit apporter de Montbar à Dijon, VI frans. Item, audit Jehan pour ses despense d'estre alé de Montmoison à Dijon du commandement et ordonnance du dit monseigneur querir certains joyaulx et coffrez de sa dicte chappelle pour apportez en la ville de Nevers, V frans. Pour tout par mandement dudit monseigneur donnè le XXVIII jour de janvier 1389 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1475, fol. 26 [XXVI])

71. A Hennequin Houdanch, cleric de la chapelle de monseigneur, qu'il a paieiz pour les salaires et despens de deux hommes qui ont apourté de Paris à Vilaines unes petites orgues et pour toile ciree pour couvrir les dictes orgues, X frans.... Par mandement de mondit seigneur donnè le XI jour de fevrier 1389 [n.s.] sanz autres quittances.

(ACO, B 1475, fol. 89 [IIIxxIX])

72. A Jehan de Visey, jadiz organeur de monseigneur le conte de Flandres, pour don à luj fait par ma dame la duchesse pour une fois de grace especial, pour luj aidier à faire ses despens, en alent du pays de Bourgogne ou pais de Flandres, pour ce paié à luj. Par mandement de ma dicte dame donnè XXIX de mars 1389 [n.s.].... X frans.

(ACO, B 1474, fol. 39v [XXXVIIIv])

73. A lui [Symon de Lengres, pelletier et bourgeois de Paris] deuz lui estoient pour les causes et partiez qui s'ensuivent. C'est assavoir: pour la vendue et delivrance de LX pennes de gros vair au pris de VII fr. la penne, IIIIcIIIxx fr., lesquelles pennes mon dit seigneur donna à ses XII chapellains, c'est assavoir: messire Jehan de Chartres, messire Toussainz Perier, messire Jehan Abidon, messire Jehan Ambrun, messire Symon Corier, messire Jehan de Colomiers, messire Jaques de Fescamps, messire Guillaume Moreau, messire Jehan Grosseteste, messire Jehan Martin, messire Jehan de Hamencourt et Henry Potage, à chascun V pennes de gros vair pour fourrer la robe que lors [fol. 29v] mon dit seigneur leur avoit donnee pour leur robe de pasques 1389. Item, pour XIIc de menu vair au pris de V frans le cent, valent LX franz, lequel menu vair mon dit seigneur donna à ses dis chappellains pour fourrer les chapperons de leurs dites robes, à chascun d'eulz, Ic. Item, pour une penne et demie de cuissettes d'aingniaux noirs et pour III pennes d'aingniaux blanz que mon dit seigneur donna semblablement à frere Robert Souvent, moine son chapellain, pour la fourrure de la robe que semblablement il li donna, XV fr. Item, pour II petites pennes d'aingniaux noires pour fourrer les chaperons de sa dite robe, II fr. Item, pour XV pennes d'aingniaux blanz pour fourrer la robe que semblablement il donna à ses V clerics de chapelle, à chascun d'eulz III pennes au pris de I franc la penne, valent XV franz, c'est assavoir: Hanequin Ontdanc, Colinet de Hamencourt, Jaquet de Templeuve, Jehan Haussant et Thevenin des Mares. Item, pour X pennes d'aingniaux blanz pour fourrer leurs chaperons, VII franz demj. Item, pour Vc dos d'escureulz noirs pour la fourrure de la robe que pareillement mon dit seigneur donna à Casin Hulin, son valet de chambre et cleric de chapelle, au pris de VI fr. le cent, XXX fr. Pour tout païé à luy par mandement de mon dit seigneur.... donné le IXe jour d'aoust 1389, et avec certification dudit messire Jehan de Chartres, premier chapellain de mon dit seigneur, donnee le VII jour dudit mois oudit an.... VIcXX frans de Paris. (ACO, B 1476, fols. 29-29v [XXIX-XXIXv])

74. A Claux, Willemot et Jacob, menestres de mon dit seigneur, pour don à eux fait par le dit seigneur pour consideration des bons et agreables services qu'ilz luy ont fait longuement, fait chascun jour, et qu'il espere que facent au temps avenir; et pour.... leurs frais, missions, et despens en alant aux escolles en Alemaigne, demourant ylléc et retournant devers mon dit seigneur ainsi que autre fois le dit seigneur a acoustumé de faire. C'est assavoir: à chascun d'eulz L fr. Pour ce païé aus dessus dit III menestreilz.... par mandement dudit monseigneur le duc donné le XX jour d'aoust 1389.... CL fr. (ACO, B 1508, fol. 107v [CVIv])

75. Aux menestrelz du duc de Lancastre et à plusieurs autres pour don à eux fait par ledit monseigneur par son mandement sanz autre quictance donné le XVI jour de septembre l'an 1389.... IIIIxxX frans. (ACO, B 1479, fol. 59 [LIX])

76. A Jehan de Villeroy dit Briquet, somelier de corps dudit monseigneur, pour don à luy par mon dit seigneur en recompensacion de ses gaiges qui ne luy ont point esté comptez de long temps qu'il a esté continuelement par l'ordonnance de mon dit seigneur en son service [fol. 59v]; et aussi en recompensacion de plusieurs despens qu'il a faiz à certains pelerinages que le dit monseigneur lui a ordonnez faire. Par mandement et quictance.... le XXIe jour dudit mois [septembre] 1389.... IIIIxx frans. (ACO, B 1479, fols. 59-59v [LIX-LIXv])

77. A Nicolas de Condon, trompette et sergent d'armes de mon dit seigneur, pour don à luy fait par le dit monseigneur pour les bons et agreables services qu'il a faiz longuement, fait chascun jour et face ou temps advenir audit monseigneur; et pour luy aidier à refaire sa trompette qui fu despecier à la feste qui fu d'arnierement faiz à la venue de la Royne. Par mandement dudit monseigneur et quictance faicte le XVIIe jour de decembre 1389.... XX frans. (ACO, B 1479, fol. 64v [LXIVv])

78. A Stroman, menesterel de monseigneur le duc de Bourbon, lesquelz le dit monseigneur lui a donnez quant il vint devant luy en la ville de Bruges, X frans.... Mandement dudit monseigneur sur ce fait le XXIIIe jour de fevrier 1390 [n.s.]. (ACO, B 1479, fol. 81v [IIIxxIV])

79. A ung menesterel de bouche qui est à monseigneur le duc de Bourbon auquel monseigneur les a donnez, X frans.... Par mandement dudit monseigneur donné le d'arnier jour d'avril 1390. (ACO, B 1479, fol. 82v [IIIxxIV])

80. A messire Jehan de Chartres, premier chapellain de monseigneur, qu'il avoit païé pour les causes et parties qui s'ensuivent. C'est assavoir: pour les despens de deux vallez et deux chevaulx fournis qui ont mené les coffres de la chapelle de mon dit seigneur des Dijon à Lyon, IIII l. XVII s. X d. paris. Item, pour les despens de Henriet, cleric de la chapelle de mon dit seigneur, pour sept jours en alant de Dijon en Avignon, V s. IIII d. paris. chascun jour, valent XXXVII s. IIII d. paris. Item, pour ung bateau loué audit Lyon pour mener lesdiz coffres par le Rosne des Lyon audit Avignon, VIII fr. Pour tout par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné le XIXe jour d'avril 1391. (ACO, B 1487, fol. 96v [IIIxxXVIIIv])

81. A Jehan de Dignant, Loyset, Alphons et Claux le Tabourin, menestreilz de mon dit seigneur, pour don à eux fait par mon dit seigneur pour contemplacion de la solempnité de la feste de pentecoste 1391. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné le XVIe jour de may l'an dessus dit et quictance.... XL fr. Aus dessus nommes Jehan de Dignant, Loyset, Alphons et Semul, menestreilz de mon dit seigneur, pour don à eux fait par le dit seigneur pour ce qu'ilz cornerent devant luy en son chastel d'Argilly ou il estoit le jour de toussains 1391. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur le duc et sur ce quictance donnee le XIII de septembre 1396.... XXX fr. (ACO, B 1508, fol. 107 [CVI])

82. A.... messire Nicolas Fessart et Ayniart de Rains, lesquelx monseigneur a retenuz en Avignon darrenierement qu'il y estoit pour estre en sa chappelle que ledit monseigneur leur a donnez pour eulx vestir et avoir leurs necessitez en son service. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné le III jour de may 1391, et quittance donnee le Ve jour de juing oudit an.... XL frans.

(ACO, B 1487, fol. 84)

83. A Jaquet de Templeuve, cleric de la chappelle de monseigneur, pour don à lui fait par monseigneur pour les bons et agreables services qu'il lui a faiz ou temps passé, fait de jour en jour et espere qu'il face ou temps avenir; et en recompensacion d'un cheval qu'il a eu mort ou voyage d'Avignon. Par mandement [fol. 84] donné le VII jour de juing 1391.... XXX frans.

(ACO, B 1487, fols. 83v-84)

84. A Jehan Houdanch, cleric de la chappelle de mondit seigneur, qui les avoit paieez avoir par pluseurs fois pourté de Paris à Conflans et rapourté audit Paris unes orgues, et aussi de Saint Anthoine en l'ostel d'Artois audit Paris, II fr.... Par mandement de mondit seigneur donné le XXIXe jour de juing l'an 1391.

(ACO, B 1487, fol. 37 [XXXIX])

85. A Baudenet Fresnel, harpeur et vallet de chambre de monseigneur, pour don à lui fait par mon dit seigneur pour lui aidier à paier les frais et missions qu'il a faiz à Chalon au retour du voyage nagueres fait par ledit monseigneur en Lombardie, en laquelle ville il a esté malade par l'espace de VI sepmaines ou environ, sicomme il a affirmé audit monseigneur. Donné le Xe jour de juing 1391, et quittance donnee le IIIe jour de juillet oudit an.... XL frans.

(ACO, B 1487, fol. 84)

86. A luj [Philipot des Harnaps, marchand demourant à Paris] qui deuz li estoient en parties qui s'ensuivent. C'est assavoir: pour VI draps et demi entiers sanghins de Bruxelles de grant moison à tondre d'une sorte pour le XIII chapellains de mon dit seigneur, à chascun d'eulz demi drap; premierement messire Jehan de Chartres, messire Toussains Perier, messire Jehan Ambrun, messire Jehan de Colomiers, messire Jaques de Fescamps, messire Guillaume Moreau, messire Jehan Martin, messire Jehan de Hamencourt, Hanry Potage, Nicole de Hamencourt, Jaquet de Templeuve, messire Nicole Faisant et Ynart le Fevre au pris de LXVI fr. par le drap, IIIc fr. Item, pour VI aunes de brunette de liere et III aunes de drap blanc prest, à l'aune de Paris, pour frere Robert Souvent, moisme chappellain de mon dit seigneur, à II fr. l'aune, XX fr. Item, pour I demi drap de Bruxelles roze de grant moison pour Tasin Hulin, cleric de chapelle et varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur, XXXIII fr. Item, et pour deux draps et demy sanghins dudit Bruxelles de courte moison contenant le drap XX aunes, à la dit aune, pour V clerics de chapelle de mon dit seigneur, c'est assavoir: Jehan Ontanc, Jehan Haussant, Jehan Bacquere, Thevenin des Mares et Henri le Fevre, à chascun demy drap au pris de XL fr. le drap, C fr. Paié par mandement de mon dit seigneur et quittance donnee III de juillet 1391 et sur ce certifficacion du dessus dit messire Jehan de Chartres.... VcIIIxxII fr.

(ACO, B 1486, fol. 23 [XXIII])

87. A Jehan de Noyers dit Tapissier, vallet de chambre de monseigneur, pour don à lui fais par ledit monseigneur pour semblables frais et missions par lui soustenuz oudit voyage de Lombardie. Par mandement donné le XXIIIe jour de juillet 1391.... XX frans. (ACO, B 1487, fol. 91 [IIIxxXIII])

88. A lui [monseigneur de Bourgogne] lesquelx a madame la duchesse, monseigneur le conte et mademoiselle de Nevers offrirent en la ville de Beaune à la nouvelle messe de son chappellain, messire Jehan Martin, qu'il celebra en sa presence le XXII jour dudit mois d'octobre 1391.... IIc frans.

(ACO, B 1487, fol. 22 [XXIII])

89. A Jehan Pochet, marchant, qui deuz li est pour une grande harpe double, ouvree bien richement de bois, pour en faire jouer devant monseigneur quant il luy plaist. Paié par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné à Arras le IIIe jour de may 1392.... L fr.

(ACO, B 1495, fol. 81 [IIIxxI])

90. A Jehannin Tapissier, varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur, don à luy fait par mon dit seigneur pour mieux avoir ses necessitez en son service, X fr.... Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné audit Lille le XXVIII jour de may 1392.

(ACO, B 1495, fol. 91 [IIIxxXI])

91. A Hanequin Leippart, paige de mon dit seigneur, pour don à li fait pour paier les menestreilz de ses noces, III fr.... A Bricquet, pour don à li fait pour cause de [fol. 50v] sa maladie, X fr.... A Johannes Ontdanch, pour le portaige et raportaige d'une orgues des Nostre Dame de Douay à l'ostel de mon dit seigneur yllec, I fr. II s. VI d. tournois.... Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné à Saint Omer XXX de juing 1392.

(ACO, B 1495, fols. 50-50v [L-Lv])

92. A maistre Pierre de Pacy, doyen de l'eglise de Paris, conseiller du Roy nostre sire, qui deuz li estoient pour la vendue et delivrance d'unnes orgues portatives qui mon dit seigneur fist pranre et acheter de luj pour mettre en sa chappelle de son hostel d'Artoiz audit lieu de Paris, et les transpouster es autres hostels de mondit seigneur estans audit lieu de Paris et environ pour [fol. 158] en jouer devant luy aux festes solempnez. Anssy comme il est contitué par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné à Paris le III d'aoust 1393, certifficacion dudit messire Jehan de Chartres et sur ce quittance, LX livres tournois.

(ACO, B 1500, fols. 157v-158 [VIIxxXVIIv-VIIxxXVIII])

93. Aux menestreilz de monseigneur de Berry pour don à eulx fait par mon dit seigneur à Hesdin quant mon dit seigneur de Berry y fut et aussi mon dit seigneur avec luy, L fr.... Donné audit Bouloingne le IIIe jour dudit mois de juing 1393.

(ACO, B 1500, fol. 156v [VIIxxXVIv])

94. A lui [Baude de Rains] pour don fait par mon dit seigneur ceste fois pour avoir une harpe pour jouer devant luy et pour les bons et agreables services par lui faiz et pour aidier à avoir ses necessites oudit service.... Donné le XXII jour de may 1394 et quittance.... LX fr.

(ACO, B 1499, fol. LXIII)

95. Le 2e jour de juin 1394 le duc envoya Jean Blondel, son premier escuyer, et en sa compagnie Jeannot, son sommelier d'eschansonnerie, Enguerrande, un de ses fauconniers, [et] Baudenet le Harpeur, son valet de chambre, pour traitter chose importante au duc de Bretagne et luy presenter du vin de Bourgogne, des faucons et des tapisseries de Flandres.... XX fr.

(Bibl. nat., CB 65, fol. 57v)

96. A messire Guillaume Peletier, prestre chappellain de Sainte Chappelle du palais à Paris, qui deuz li estoient pour la vendue et delivrance d'un petit breviaire à l'usage dudit Paris, lequel mon dit seigneur fist pranre et achecter de luy. Par mandement donné à Paris XXVI de juing 1394, avec quittance dudit messire Guillaume et certification de messire Jehan de Chartres, premier chappellain de mondit seigneur.... XXX frans.

(ACO, B 1500, fol. 157v [VIIxxXVIIv])

97. A deux varlets qui ont soufflé les orgues aux festes sollennelles durant le temps que mon dit seigneur a esté audit Bouloigne, pour don à eulz fait, XXII s. VI d. tournois.... Donné à Paris le IIII jour de juillet 1394.

(ACO, B 1501, fol. 67 [LXVII])

98. A Baudenet Fresnel, varlet de chambre de mondit seigneur, qui deuz luy estoient pour les causes qui s'ensuivent. C'est assavoir: pour un grosse cainture d'argent esmaillié, pour XII mars de sonnettes d'argent de plusieurs façons, et pour une harpe; lesquelles sainture, sonnettes et harpe fist prendre et acheter dudit Baudenet et ycelle harpe donna à son chappellain messire Jehan Ondoun, et les dictes sainture et sonnettes à Gostal Deynttre, son escuier d'escuierie. Pour ce païé au dit Baudenet par mandement dudit monseigneur le duc donné le XIXe jour de septembre 1394, et deux certifications, c'est assavoir, dudit messire Jehan Ondayn et dudit Gostal.... IIc fr.

(ACO, B 1508, fol. 124v [VIxxIIIv])

99. A Jehannes Ouduchnc, chapellain, qu'il avoit païé du commandement de mon dit seigneur pour avoir fait porter et rapporter unes orgues dudit lieu d'Angers au Pont de Seiz, I franc II s. VI d. tournois.... Donné audit Angers le VIIIe jour d'octobre 1394.

(ACO, B 1501, fol. 70 [LXX])

100. Audit Josse, IIIc frans.... lesquelz maistre Pierre Berthoit, secretaire de monseigneur et son procureur en court de Romme, avoit presté par l'ordonnance de monseigneur à IIII chapellains, c'est assavoir: messire Estienne Turquet, Andry du Meix, Jehan François et Hanry Scoenhe, jadis chapellains de nostre saint pere le Pape Clement, dernièrement trespasé, pour eulz monter et habillir aler presentement d'Avignon apres le dit trespasement; lesquelz IIII chapellains mon dit seigneur avoit ordonné audit maistre Pierre luy envoyer devers luy pour estre ses chapellains.... IIIc frans.

(ACO, B 1501, fol. 89v [IIIxxIXv])

101. A messire Jehan François, chappellain de mon dit seigneur, pour don à lui fait par mon dit seigneur de grace especial pour cause des bons et agreables services qu'il lui a fais de jour en jour; et pour lui avoir un cheval pour soy monter en son service. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné le VIIe jour de fevrier 1395 [n.s.].... L fr.

(ACO, B 1503, fol. 102 [CII])

102. Pour deniers paies par ordonnance et commandement de mon dit seigneur le duc pour chanevas, toile ciré et corde pour en faideler les draps et pennes pour la livree des chappellains, clers et someliers de chappelle du dit seigneur avec varles qui les en faidelerent par deuz foiz de Compiegne à Paris; pour un chariot et pour un batel à ycelles choses mener de Paris à Villeneuve les Avignon. Comme il est plus à plain contenu en un mandement dudit seigneur donné le VIII jour de juin 1395. Pour ce par ledit mandement avec certification de messire Jehan de Chartres, prestre, premier chappellain dudit seigneur.... LXI frans VIII d. parisis.

(ACO, B 1503, fol. 181 [IXxxI])

103. Houx, Regnaut du, prestre. Le duc de Bourgogne sur le bon rapport qui luy a esté fait de sa personne, d'autant qu'il a esté long temps chapelain du Pape Clement, le retient pour chapelain de sa chapelle aux gages, droits, robes, proffits et emoluments ordinaires et à la pension de 40 fr. par an, telle que prennent et prendront de luy ses autres chapelains, ladictre retenue de Villeneuve les Avignon 8 juin 1395.

(Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 72)

104. A messire Regnaut du Houx, nagaires chappellain de nostre saint pere le Pape, à present chappellain de mondit seigneur, pour don à lui fait par mondit seigneur de grace especial pour lui monter et querir ses necessites en son service. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné le XVIe jour de juing 1395, et quittance, C escus valent.... CXII fr. demi.

(ACO, B 1503, fol. 102 [CII])

105. A Regnaut Fresnel, pour avoir mis jus le ton des orgues de la chappelle de mon dit seigneur, relever le sommier pour amender quinze tueaux et les souffles neufs en ycelles orgues et les accorder. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur le duc donné le XXVIIe jour de decembre 1395, et quittance avec certification de messire Jehan de Chartres, premier chappellain de mon dit seigneur.... XXIII frans.

(ACO, B 1503, fol. 185 [IXxxV])

106. A plusieurs menestreilz d'Angleterre que mon dit seigneur le duc leur donna à Compiegne pour ce qu'ilz avoient corné devant luy, XX fr.... Mandement de mon dit seigneur donné le XIIe de septembre 1396.

(ACO, B 1508, fol. 151v [VIIxxXv])

107. Pour un gobelet d'argent, doré, couvert que mondit seigneur fist prendre et achecter de luy [Henry Orlandt] pour donner à messire Jehan du Moulin, premier chappellain du Roy, en recompensacion d'un breviaire à l'usage de Paris qu'il avoit donné à

mon dit seigneur.... Par mandement dudit monseigneur le duc donné le XIIIe jour de septembre 1396.... XLII fr.
(ACO, B 1508, fol. 119v [CXVIIIv])

108. Aux VII trompettes qui alerent par le commandement de mon dit seigneur à Saint Omer à l'assemblée des deux Roys pour lui faire de leurs offices, ausquels mon dit seigneur ordonna.... pour paier les despens par eux faiz audit Saint Omer durant le temps que il y fut et avec ce que mon dit seigneur leur donna pour eulx vestir.... LVIII fr. XXIII d. tournois.... Par mandement de monseigneur le duc donné le XIIIe jour d'aoust 1396.
(ACO, B 1511, fol. 68 [LXVII])

109. A Jehan Tappissier, varlet de chambre dudit monseigneur le duc, pour don à luy fait par le dit seigneur tant pour consideration des bons et agreables services qu'il lui a faiz et fait de jour en jour, comme pour lui aidier à supporter les frais et missions et despens qu'il a naguaires faiz et soustenu pour cause du mariage et des nopces d'une sienne suers. Par mandement dudit seigneur donné le XXIIIe jour d'octobre 1396, avec quittance dudit Jehan, C escuz valent.... CXII fr. demi.
(ACO, B 1511, fol. 56v [LVv])

110. Aux menestriers qui cornerent devant le Roy quant mon dit seigneur le duc lui donna à disner en son chastel de Saint Omer.... Aux trompettes des villes de Gand, Bruges et Ypres qui ont esté avec mon dit seigneur et en son service ou darrainier voiage de l'assemblée du Roy et du Roy d'Angleterre que mon dit seigneur leur donna semblablement, LX fr. Pour ce par mandement donné le XXIXe jour de janvier 1397 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1511, fol. 62v [LXIv])

111. A maistre Jehan de Auterliche, licencié en theologie, pour don à lui fait par mondit seigneur ceste foiz de grace especial en reverence de dieu et en aumosne; et pour consideration du bon et continuel estude que longuement a fait en la dicte faculté de theologie; et pour lui aidier à faire sa feste à lui maistriser en la dicte science. Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné XII de mars 1397 [n.s.].... L fr.
(ACO, B 1507, fol. LXII)

112. A Jehannj Tappitier, varlet de chambre de mondit seigneur, auquel ledit seigneur lui a ordonné estre païé, baillié et delivré la somme de LXXIX fr. VIII s. parisis pour le recomdment de ses gaiges de VIIxxXIX jours, c'est assavoir depuis le premier jour de moys de janvier dernièrement passé inclus jusques au IXe jour de ce present moys excluz qu'il servit mondit seigneur continuelement de son dit office par son ordonnance sans lui avoir esté compté aucuns gaiges ou livree en son hostel, ou sont lesdiz VIIxxXIX jours lesquelz à VIII s. parisis que par les escroes de la despens d'icellui seigneur esté acoustumé de prenre par jour, montent à la dicte somme de LXXIX fr. VIII s. parisis. Sicomme il est plus à plain declairé es lettres patentes dudit seigneur sur ce faictes donnees à Beauté sur Marne le XIIe jour de juing l'an 1397.
(ACO, B 1519, fol. 117 [CXVII])

113. A Jehanny Tappissier, varlet de chambre de mondit seigneur, auquel icellui seigneur a donné la somme de LX escus d'or pour les bons et agreables services qu'il lui a faiz et pour lui aidier à avoir un cheval pour lui monter honnestement en son service. Siqu'il appert par mandement d'icellui seigneur donné à Tournay le dernier jour de janvier l'an 1398 [n.s.].... LX escus.
(ACO, B 1514, fol. 153 [VIIxxX])

114. A messire Jehan de Watignies, chappellain de monseigneur, auquel le dit seigneur pour les bons et agreables services qu'il lui a faiz et espere que face; et aussi pour lui aidier à avoir une maison à Paris tant pour soy logier, comme pour ses autres neccessitez a donné pour une fois la somme de cent fr. Siqu'il appert par les lettres de mandement dudit seigneur donnees à Tournay le second jour de fevrier l'an 1398 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1517, fol. 133v [VIxxXIIIv])

115. A messire Jehan François, chappellain de mon dit seigneur, pour don à lui fait par icellui seigneur tant pour les bons et agreables services qu'il lui a faiz, comme en recompensacion des fraiz et domaiges qu'il a soutenuz pour ce qu'il a esté debouté par deux fois de la prebende de Lizieux qu'il eust eue par le rolle de Pape Clement s'il feust demeuré en son service.... Le XXVe jour de mars l'an 1398 [n.s.].... C fr.
(ACO, B 1514, fol. 129v [VIxxVIIIv])

116. Mulier, Loyset, menestrier du duc de Bourgogne. Mondit seigneur par lettres donnees à La Grange aux Merciers les Paris le 8 octobre 1398 considere son grand age et ses infirmities, le grattiffie et luy donne de recompense pour ses services, sa vie durant, une pension de 80 fr. d'or chacun an, payable à 2 termes, paques et toussaints, à commencer à paques 1399; moyenant que les 8 s. parisis qu'il prend sur la depense de son hotel chaque jour, cessera es premier terme de pension par an.
(Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 109v)

117. A Jehan de Villeroy dit Bricquet, auquel a esté baillié la somme de XXXI fr. V s. tournois à lui donné par mon dit seigneur pour une fois tant pour les bons et agreables service qu'il lui a faiz [et] fait chascun jour, comme pour lui aidier à avoir ses neccessitez en une maladie que longuement il avoit eue en la ville de Paris. C'est assavoir: XX fr. ou moys de juing dernièrement passé et X escus ou moys d'aoust ensuivant.... Donné à Conflans les Paris le Xe jour de decembre l'an 1398.
(ACO, B 1517, fol. 143v [VIIxxIIIv])

118. A Jehan de Villeroy dit Bricquet, auquel a esté païé par le dit receveur general la somme de cent escus d'or, pour ses frais et despens d'aler ou pais d'Angleterre ou ledit seigneur l'envoyoit promptement, pour porter les estrennes de par mondit seigneur tant au Roy d'Angleterre comme à la duchesse du Glocestre, et pour son retour d'Angleterre devant mondit seigneur.... Donné à Conflans les Paris le XXIIe jour de mars avant pasques l'an 1399 [n.s.].... C escus.
(ACO, B 1519, fol. 75 [LXXV])

119. Moloy, Jean de. Le duc de Bourgogne sur le bon rapport qui a esté fait de sa personne, par lettres de son hostel de Conflans les Paris 4 avril 1399 le retient pour son premier chapelain de sa chapelle aux gages de 24 s. parisis chaque jour et ses robes de livree, par chacun an, ainsy qu'ont accoustumé de les avoir de luy ses autres chapelains, au lieu de Jean de Chartres, qu'il decharge de cet office à sa requeste, vu sa vieillesse et ses infirmités. Il avait servi les hostels des roys de France et de mondit seigneur l'espace de 40 ans. Et moyenant ce le dit Jean du Moloy ne pourra luy demander aucune pension, livree de bouche, ni monture, ni autre chose quelconques.

(Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 90v)

120. A Jehan le Tappissier, valet de chambre de mon dit seigneur, auquel mondit seigneur a donné la somme de LX frans d'or pour consideration des bons et agreables services qu'il luy a fais et fait chascun jour; et pour luy mieulx avoir ses neccessitez en son dit service.... Par les lettres patentes dudit seigneur sur ce faites, donnees à Hesdin le XXXe jour de may l'an 1399.... LX fr.

(ACO, B 1526, fol. 144 [VIIxxX])

121. A Jehan de Noiers dit Tappissier, varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur, auquel ledit seigneur, tant pour les bons services qu'il luy avoit faiz, comme pour la grant pain, travail et bonne diligence qu'il a eu durant le temps de la derrenier maladie que avoit eue mon dit seigneur à Arras, donne de grace especial la somme de C fr.... Donnees à Hesdin le derrenier jour de juillet l'an 1399.... C fr.

(ACO, B 1538, fol. 147v [VIIxxVIIv])

122. A maistre Jaques de Templeuve, secretaire et premier chappellain de mondit seigneur, auquel estoit deu par mon dit seigneur la somme de XX fr. pour ses gaiges d'un franc par jour qu'il a coustumé prendre dudit seigneur durant certains voyages qu'il fist naguaires du commandement et ordonnance d'icellui seigneur et pour ses besoingnes outre et pardessus un autre franc qu'il pren ordinairement par jour avec les autres chappellains d'icellui seigneur es pais de Nivernais et Donzinois pour aucunes besoingnes que icellui seigneur ne veult autrement estre declaires ou il vacqua de XIIIe jour de may jusques au premier jour de juing derrenierement passé qui sont XX jours.... Donné à Paris le Xe jour de juillet 1400.... XX fr.

(ACO, B 1517, fol. 64 [LXIII])

123. A messire Jehan Ondanch, chappellain de mondit seigneur, auquel esté deu par mondit seigneur la somme de CIII livres XVI sous parisis, pour plusieurs mises par lui faites, pour avoir amenes et rapportes, tant par eaue comme par terre, de la ville de Gand à Paris, et d'illec en l'ostel de mondit seigneur à Conflans, unes orgues que icelluy fist nagaire faire audit lieu de Gand....

Pour XIII ausnes de toille de lin, pour couvrir lesdits orgues, II sous parisis l'ausne, XXVIII sous parisis. Item, pour XXIII livres de cire, pour cirer ladite toille, à III sous parisis pour l'ausne, LXXII sous parisis. Item, pour XIII ausnes de drap blanc pour couvrir lesdits orgues par dessus ladite toille, au prise de III sous parisis l'ausne, LVI sous parisis. Item, pour tailler, coudre et ordonner les II chappes desdits drap et toille à

couvrir icelles orgues, XLVIII sous parisis. Item, pour flassars pour envelopper les soufflets desdits orgues, XII sous parisis. Item, pour le salaire d'un manouvrier, de ses varles et de la nef pour avoir mené par eaue, de Gand à Valenciennes, lesdits orgues, pour merchie à lui par ledit messire Jehan Ondanch, pres le maistre qui avoit fait lesdits orgues, X livres XVI sous parisis. Item, pour les despens dudit maistre d'icelles orgues et de deux varles qui les conduirent dudit Gand à Valenciennes, par X jour qu'ils demourerent sur l'eaue, C sous parisis. Item, pour deux coffres de fust à mectre XXVIII les plus gros behors et tuyaulx desdits orgues, et pour drapeaux de linge à les enveloper, XLVIII sous parisis. Item, pour III perches de sappin à porter lesdits orgues, VI sous parisis, pour cordes de chanvre à porter lesdits orgues, VI sous parisis. Item, pour II escuçons armoies aux armes de mondit seigneur, VI sous parisis. Item, pour une serrure garnié de clef, pour contre garder le clavier desdits orgues, VI sous parisis. Item, pour XII coussines à mettre au bout des dessus dites perches, pour supporter les espauls des compaignons qui apporterent lesdites orgues, XVIII sous parisis. Item, pour la paine et salaire de XII gros varles qui apporterent les dites orgues de Valenciennes à Paris, à chascun d'eulx, III escus, par merchie fait, XXXII livres VIII sous parisis. Item, pour XII paires de souliers pour les XII gros varles dessus dits, III sous parisis la paire, XLII sous parisis. Item, pour les despens d'iceulx XII gros varles, dudit maistre des orgues et de son varlet, par X jours, en venant du dit Valenciennes à Paris, à chascun d'eulx par jour, III sous parisis, XXVIII livres parisis. Item, pour un disner à la bon alee desdits varles, pour ce qu'ils avoient bon alé, XXIII sous parisis. Item, pour faire apporter lesdites orgues de l'ostel d'Artois à Conflans, XX sous parisis. Item, pour don fait par mondit seigneur audit maistre qui fist lesdites orgues, X escus, IX livres parisis, auquel messire Jehan fut baillé en prest à son departement sur ledit voiage, par l'ordonnance de mondit seigneur LX escus d'or du Roy, qui valent LIII livres parisis. Sicomme ces choses sont plus à plain declarees en un roolle de parchemin, montant à la somme de CIII livres XVI sous parisis.... Donné à Conflans les Paris le XXIXe jour d'octobre l'an 1400: cy rendu à court avec unes autres lettres de mondit seigneur dudit prest, donnees à Paris le XIXe jour d'aoust l'an 1400, avec deux quittance souffisant sur ce CIII livres X sous parisis.

(ACO, B 1519, fols. 254v-255 [XIIxxXIVv-XIIxxXV])

124. A Bricquet, sommellier de corps de mon dit seigneur, pour don à lui fait par ledit seigneur de grace especial la somme de XX escuz d'or tant pour consideration des bons et agreables services qu'il luy avoit faiz, comme pour luy aidier à paier les phisiciens qui l'avoient visité en sa maladie.... Donnees à Conflans les Paris le XXe jour de septembre l'an 1400.... XX escuz.

(ACO, B 1532, fol. 220 [XIxx])

125. A Anthoine Eslen, cleric de chappelle de madame la Roynne, faiseur d'orgues, qui lui estoient deu pour avoir rapareilles une vielles orgues que nous avons fait apporter de nostre hostel de Conflans à Paris en nostre dit hostel d'Artois, pour la feste de noel derrenierement passé, XIII fr. de Paris.... [Certifficacion] de nostre premier chappellain sur la reffeicion des dictes orgues.... donnee à Paris le XXVe jour de janvier l'an 1401 [n.s.]... XIII fr.

(ACO, 33 F 54, liasse, no folio)

126. A maistre Jaques de Templeuve, premier chappellain de mon dit seigneur, qu'il lui avoit baillié comptant en passant dernièrement par Chartres en alent ou voiage que fist nagaires mondit seigneur ou pais de Bretagne, III fr. et demj, lesquelz mon dit seigneur donna, c'est assavoir: aux vicaires de l'eglise Nostre Dame dudit lieu de Chartres, II fr. V s. tournois; au maistre d'orgues de la dicte eglise, XXII s. VI d. tournois; et aux enfans d'aube d'icelle eglise, XXII s. VI d. tournois.... le VIIIe de decembre l'an 1402.
(ACO, B 1532, fol. 181v [IXxxIv])

127. Pour autres deniers paieez par le dit commis par l'ordonnance et commandement de mon dit seigneur à Carmen, escriptvain et enlumineur, [et] à plusieurs personnes et pour plusieurs causes plus à plain declairees es lettres patentes de mon dit seigneur sur ce faites, montent à la somme de XXVI fr. XV s. tournois. Donnees à Paris le XI jour de fevrier 1403 [n.s.].
(ACO, B 1532, fol. 355 [XVIIxxXV])

128. A Perrinet de la Fontaine, sommelier de la chappelle de mon dit seigneur, pour don à lui fait par le dit seigneur, la somme de XX fr. pour avoir de la robe un jupon, chausses, robes, linges et autres necessitez en son service. Sicomme il appert plus à plain par les lettres dudit seigneur sur ce faites, donnees à Paris le XXVe jour de may l'an 1403.... XX fr.
(ACO, B 1532, fol. 226 [XIxxVI])

129. Dynant, Jean de, menestrier du duc de Bourgogne. Mon dit seigneur pour reconnaître ses services et vu son grand age qui le met hors d'estat de luy rendre aucun service et pour descharger d'ailleurs d'autant la despense de son hostel, par lettres de Paris 7 decembre 1403 le grattiffie de 60 frans d'or de pension par an sa vie durant sur sa recepte generale de Bourgogne.
(Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 215bis)

130. A maistre Jaques de Templeuve, secretaire et premier chappellain de mon dit seigneur, auquel estoit deu par mon dit seigneur la somme de XIII fr. X s. VIII d. parisis par lui bailliez et delivrez pour mon dit seigneur pour les causes et parties qui s'ensuivent. C'est assavoir: pour le bers de bois sur lequel on porta le joyau de saint sacrement à la procession le jour de la feste au Louvre, XII s. parisis. Item, pour la peinture dudit bers, VI s. parisis. Item, pour les ribans à loyer sur le dit bers le dit jour, II s. VIII d. Item, pour toile et façon des grans sacs des grans carreaux de l'oratoire dudit seigneur et de son carreau de l'offerende, XX s. parisis. Item, pour la façon et toile de liee à couvrir les croix et paix du grant autel et petit autel dudit oratoire en karesme dernièrement passé, XVIII s. parisis. Item, pour.... façon de deux grans carreaux de drap d'or vermeil que audit maistre Jaques avoient esté ordonnez faire fait par ledit seigneur, III fr. Item, qu'il paia à Jehan de Paris, chasublier dudit seigneur, pour deux pieces de toile.... Et qu'il paia à Carmen, escriptvain et nocteur de chant, pour avoir nocté au livre des noctes de la chappelle dudit seigneur certains himes, glorias, et patrems nouvellement faiz, II fr.; lesquelles parties montent ensemble à la dicte somme de XIII fr. X s. VIII d. parisis. Sicomme il appert plus à plain par les lettres patentes dudit seigneur sur ce faites, donnees à Paris le XXe jour de decembre l'an 1403.
(ACO, B 1532, fol. 374 [XVIIIxxXIII])

131. Aus dessus diz chappellains, clerks, sommeliers et fourrier pour leurs diz gaiges à eulz semblablement ordonné prendre et avoir hors de la despens ordinaire de mon dit seigneur comme contenu est es lettres rendues sur la partie precedant, lesquelz mon dit seigneur veult semblablement avoir et prendre leurs diz gaiges pour l'annee commençant le premier jour de janvier 1403 et fenissant le dernier jour de decembre ensuivant inclus par lettres dudit seigneur faites le XVe jour de fevrier l'an 1403 par la somme et maniere qui s'ensuit. C'est assavoir: à maistre Jaquet de Templeuve durant ledit temps par chascun jour de gaiges XXXII s. parisis, à messire Jehan du Moloy XXIII s. parisis par jour, à messire [fol. 66] Jaques de Fescamp XVI s. parisis par jour, à messire Andrieux du Mor, messire Jehan de Hamencourt, messire Henry Sconeheze, messire Robert Souvent, messire Jehan François, messire Jehan de Watignyes, messire Nicole de Hamencourt, messire Nicole Fessart, messire Eynard le Fevre, messire Jehan Oudanch, messire Jehan Haussant, messire Jehan Bakre, Estienne du Marez, messire Regnault du Houlx, Henry le Fevre, messire Pierre Quiquette et messire Gilles le Gras, à chascun semblablement XVI s. parisis par jour; à messire Nicole le Forestier dudit premier jour de janvier jusques au XXVe jour dudit mois incluz qu'il ala de vie à trespasement XVI s. parisis par jour; Jehan de Halarville aux gaiges de clerc de chappelle dudit premier jour de janvier au XXVIIe ensuivant que mon dit seigneur le retint en son chappellain et doresnavant tant qu'il servira le dit seigneur oudit office XVI s. parisis par chascun jour; et Jehan Boucher dudit premier jour de janvier jusques au XVIIe jour d'icellui mois incluz comme clerc semblablement d'icelle chappelle X s. VII d. parisis par chascun jour et du XVIIIe jour dudit mois que mon dit seigneur le retint en son chappellain et d'illec en avant tant comme il servira ledit seigneur XVI s. parisis par chascun jour; Jehan de Lachenel dit Boulongne, clerc de la dicte chappelle, X s. VIII d. parisis par chascun jour; à Emery Regal, fourrier, V s. III d. parisis par chascun jour. Parmi lesquelz gaiges iceulz chappellains, clerks et fourrier dessus dit ne prendront aucuns gaiges ou livrees et n'auront aucunes pensions de mon dit seigneur ne demanderont aucuns dons ou deniers pour perte de chevaux ou autrement durant ledit temps. Item, aus quatre sommeliers de la dicte chappelle, c'est assavoir: Thevenin Hardy, Gillot Martin, Vincent Colas et Perenet de la Fontaine, à chascun XVI d. parisis [fol. 66v] par chascun jour, XX fr. de pension par an, avec leurs livrees de bouche en l'ostel de mon dit seigneur ainsi qu'ilz ont acoustumé; montent lesdiz gaiges et pensions IXmCLXXIX fr. XIII s. III d. tournois. Et pour les robes de livree d'iceulz chappellains, clerks et sommeliers pour une foiz à eulz ordonnees et tauees par mon dit seigneur mil VIIIcIII fr. Pour tout XmIXcIIIxxII fr. XIII s. III d. tournois.... par vertu des dictes lettres, certificacion dudit maistre Jaques faite le XVIe jour de juillet 1404.
(ACO, B 1538, fols. 65v-66v [LXVv-LXVIv])

132. Pour autres deniers paieez par le dit tresorier [Jehan Chousat] aux chappellains qui firent le service devant mon dit seigneur la feste aux Roys 1406. C'est assavoir: la veille, vespres et matins; le jour, les heures et la grant messe; et autres services à plusieurs

festes contenues et declairees es lettres de mandement de mon dit seigneur tant à mon dit seigneur comme aux dis chappellains, XVI fr. XVII s. VI d. tournois. Pour ce par vertu dudit mandement donné à Paris le second jour de fevrier 1406 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1543, fol. 167v [CLXVIIv])

133. A Claux le Tabourin, jadis menestrel de feu monseigneur le duc de Bourgoigne, pere de mon dit seigneur, que dieu pardonit, pour don à lui fait par mon dit seigneur la somme de XX fr. tant pour consideracion des bons services qu'il fist longuement à feu mon dit seigneur, comme pour lui et sa femme, qui doresnavant sont anciennes gens, mieulx avoir leurs substantacion. Si comme il appert par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné à Paris le XXVIe jour d'aoust l'an 1406.... XX fr.

(ACO, B 1543, fol. 109v [CVIIIv])

134. A Jehan Tappissier, varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur, de XXV fr. d'or monnoye royal que ycellui seigneur a donnez à trois enfans qu'il a fait mettre et demourer avec ledit Tappissier pour aprendre à chanter. Pour ce par mandement donné à Paris le XIIIe jour de decembre l'an 1406, cy rendues avec quittance dudit Tappissier par laquelle il affirme en sa conscience avoir distribuee ladite somme es [fol. 86] habillemens d'iceux enfans.... XXV fr.

(ACO, B 1554, fols. 85v-86 [IIIxxVv-IIIxxVI])

135. A frere Martin Poree, confesseur de mon dit seigneur, la somme de XXIX fr. XIII s. VI d. qui lui estoient deubs tant pour ses despens et salaire de XV jours commencans le IIIe jour de mars l'an 1407 [n.s.] et fenissant le XVIII jour ensuivant tout inclux qu'il a vacquiez par ordonnance et command d'icelui seigneur en allant de Bruges à Paris faire venir ung grant coffre plain d'ornemens necessaire et appartenant à la chappelle dudit seigneur pour la feste de pasques 1407 et en retournant à Gand devers ledit seigneur; au salaire de XXX s. qui lui a ordonné et tauxé prendre et avoir de lui pour chascun des jours.... Par lettres de mon dit seigneur sur ce faites, donnees à Gand le XXI jour dudit mois de mars 1407 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1554, fol. 198v [IXxxXVIIIv])

136. A frere Martin Porre, confesseur de mon dit seigneur, la somme de XXV escuz à la couronne monnoye royal, laquelle du commandement et ordonnance d'icellui seigneur il a baillié et delivré à VI chappellains et III enfans de coeur de Saint Pierre de Lille auquel ycelui seigneur les a donnees pour ce que à son mandement ilz estoient venus dudit lieu de Lille à Gand faire le service devant ycellui seigneur en la sepmaine pentuse et aux festes de pasques charnelz 1407 apres pasques; cy rendu avec quittance dudit frere Martin par laquelle il afferme avoir baillié et distribué la dicte somme.... XXV escuz.

(ACO, B 1547, fol. 99 [CI])

137. A Xpoffle d'Arlebouc, trompette de mon dit seigneur, auquel ycelui seigneur par ses lettres donnees à Conflans le XXIIIe jour de may l'an 1407 et pour les causes contenues en ycelles a ordonné prendre et avoir de lui chascun an de pencion, tant comme il lui plaira, la somme de C escus d'or oultre et pardessus les gaiges que monseigneur lui a ordonné prendre et avoir de lui en son hostel par les escroes de la despens dudit seigneur, à ycelle paier à quatre terms, c'est assavoir, de trois mois en trois mois, le premier terme et paiement commençant à la fin d'aoust l'an 1407 et de là en avant et en qu'il lui a ordonné qu'il ait deux robes de sa livree tant qu'il lui plaira. Pour ce païé audit Xpoffle sur ce qui lui peut estre deu à cause de sa dicte pension par sa quittance donnee le XIIIe jour d'aoust 1408.... X escus.

(ACO, B 1556, fol. 52v [Lv])

138. A Jehan le Boulangier dit Paigot, menestrel de mon dit seigneur, auquel ycellui seigneur par ses lettres donnees à Conflans les Paris le XXIIIe jour de may l'an 1407 et pour les causes contenues en ycelles lui a ordonné prendre et avoir de lui chascun an de pencion, tant comme il plaira, la somme de LXVII fr. demj oultre et pardessus les gages qu'il prent chascun jour par les escroes de la despens de l'ostel dudit seigneur, à paier la dicte pension de III mois en III mois et aux termes par egal porcions, le premier paiement commençant à la fin d'aoust 1407.... Pour ce païé à lui sur ce qui lui peut estre deu de sa dicte pension de l'annee qui commence le XXIIIe jour de may 1407.... XVI escuz.

(ACO, B 1554, fol. 61v [LXIv])

139. A Pierre Prevost, marchand demourant à Bruges, la somme de XXVIII escus d'or monnoye royal à lui deubs pour la vendue et delivrance de VI pieces de grans instrumens et quatre doucaines que icellui seigneur a fait prendre et acheter de lui pour ledit pris pour ses quatre [fol. 202] menestrelz que derrainement il a retenus à Paris. Pour ce par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné à Bruges le XIIIe jour d'aoust l'an 1407.... XXVIII escus.

(ACO, B 1547, fols. 201v-202 [IIcIIIv-IIcV])

140. A Jehan Boucher, jadis cleric de chappelle de feu monseigneur le duc d'arnierement trespasé, qui dieu pardonit, la somme de LX fr. d'or que mon dit seigneur lui a donnee de grace especial pour une fois pour consideracion des bons et agreables services qu'il a fais au feu monseigneur le duc oudit office de cleric de chappelle et depuis son decés à mon dit seigneur en sa chappelle à pluseurs festes solempnelles à Paris et ailleurs. Pour ce par mandement donné à Paris le Ie jour de novembre l'an 1407.... LX fr.

(ACO, B 1556, fol. 60 [LVIII])

141. A Jehan Tappissier la somme de LVI fr. que mon dit seigneur lui a ordonné estre bailliez pour les despens qu'il a faiz à estre venuz avec III enfans de chant devers mon dit seigneur de Paris à Amiens et d'illet à Arras, luimesme et cinq chevaulx. Pour ce par mandement donné le XI jour de may l'an 1408, cy rendu avec quittance dudit Tappissier.... LVI fr.

(ACO, B 1554, fol. 210 [IIcII])

142. La somme de IIcXXIX fr. VI s. paris en deniers paies à messire Jehan François, chappellain de mon dit seigneur, auquel la dicte somme estoit due par le dit seigneur à cause de ses gages, robes et autres choses du temps de feu monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne dernièrement trespasé.... Donnee le XIIe jour de juing l'an 1408.... IIcX-XIX fr. VI s. paris.

(ACO, B 1556, fol. 135 [VIxxXV])

143. Et à messire Jehan Haussant et Jehan Tappissier pour don à eulx fait pour avoir aidé à faire le service divin devant ycelui seigneur à plusieurs et diversses fois depuis le jour de l'assencion 1408 jusques au VIe jour de juillet ensuivant, XX escus. Pour ce par mandement donné le VIe jour de juillet l'an 1408.

(ACO, B 1556, fol. 70 [LXVIII])

144. A Colin de Neuville la somme de IIc livres pour qui deuz lui estoient et laquelle somme mon dit seigneur lui a ordonné prendre et avoir de lui pour ung foiz pour le gouvernement de Cardinet de Crepon, Jehan Gossuin, Jehan Charbonnier et Pierrin Bonsaux, enfans de chapelle de mon dit seigneur; pour avoir administré par ledit Colin aux dessus diz boire, mengier, vestier, chaucier et autres leurs necessitez pour un an entier commençant au jour de la concepcion nostre dame VIIIe jour de decembre 1408 et finissant audit jour et feste 1409 ensuivant. Pour ce par lettres de mandement de mon dit seigneur donnees VIIIe jour de decembre oudit an 1408; quittance dudit Colin et certification de frere Jehan Marchant, confesseur de mon dit seigneur, du gouvernement et administracion dessus dit.... IIc livres paris.

(ACO, B 1570, fol. 282v)

145. Dynant, Jean de, menestrier du duc Philippe le Hardy. Jean duc de Bourgogne son fils pour reconnaître ses services rendus au feu duc son pere, vu son grand age, sa pauvreté et sa faiblesse, et l'empêcher de mourir de faim, le grattiffie de deux sols tournois par jour pour son vivre sa vie durant. Par lettres de Dijon 25 may 1409.

(Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 42)

146. A Guillaume Binde, aide de l'eschançonerie de mon dit seigneur, la somme de XXV fr. XIII s. VI d. tournois à luy deuz pour la vendue et delivrance de IIII petis chevaux que mon dit seigneur fist prendre et acheter de lui la dicte somme et iceulx donnez aux IIII petis enfans de sa chappelle, lesquels il fist venir avec lui à Bruxelles aux nopces de monseigneur de Brabant. Par mandement dudit seigneur donné à Malines le XXIIIe jour de juillet 1409.

(ACO, B 1558, fol. 106 [CX])

147. A un joueur de vielle qui par plusieurs foiz joua devant mon dit seigneur oudit mois d'aoust en la ville de Gand que semblablement le dit seigneur lui donna XXII s. VI d. tournois. Par mandement dudit seigneur donné à Paris le XXVIII jour dudit mois d'aoust 1409.

(ACO, B 1558, fol. 87 [IIIxxXI])

148. Aux chappellains qui firent le service divin devant lui en son hostel d'Artois à Paris le jour de la feste Saint Loys dernièrement passé, III fr. VII s. VI d. tournois....Donné à Paris le XXVIIIe jour d'aoust l'an 1409.

(ACO, B 1558, fol. 48 [L])

149. A maistre Pierre Chorrot, demourant à Paris, auquel mondit seigneur a ordonné prendre et avoir de lui la somme de IIc livres paris pour un an commençant le XXIIe jour de novembre 1409; parm ce que le dit maistre Pierre s'est chargé de tenir avec lui les petis enfans de la chappelle de mon dit seigneur par le dit temps, qui sont en nombre cinq. C'est assavoir: Cardinet de Crepon, Jehannin Gossuin, Jehannin Carbonnier, Perrin Bonsaux et Jehannin Joffroy, et de leur aprendre leur gramair; et moyennant laquelle somme il leur fera leurs despens, les vestira et chaucera honnestement et leur baillera leurs autres necessitez.... Comme tout ce appert plus à plain par lettres patentes de mon dit seigneur sur ce faites et donnees à Paris le XXIIe jour dudit mois de novembre l'an 1409 dessus dit; cy rendu avec certification de frere Jehan Marchant, confesseur de mon dit seigneur....

(ACO, B 1558, fol. 239 [XIIxxXI])

150. Aux trompettes du Roy, aux menestrelz de monseigneur de Berry et aux menestrelz et II trompettes du Roy de Castille que mondit seigneur lui donna, lui estant à Bruxelles aux nopces de monseigneur de Brabant au mois de juillet dereniement passé, XX fr. Aux clerks et sommelliers de la Sainte Chappelle du palais du Roy à Paris qui mon dit seigneur leur donna le IIe jour de septembre dereniement passé en recompensacion des paines qu'ilz avoient euz par plusieurs foiz que mon dit seigneur a esté en la dicte Chappelle oyr la messe, XI fr. V s.... Donné à Paris le II jour de decembre 1409.

(ACO, B 1558, fol. 96v [Cv])

151. Aux enfans de la Sainte Chappelle du palaiz du Roy à Paris que mon dit seigneur leur donna le XVe jour de decembre pour faire la feste aux folz, III fr.... Donné à Paris le IIe jour de janvier 1410 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1558, fol. 93v [IIIxxXVIIv])

152. C'assavoir: pour dire messes et suffrages pour l'anniversaire de feu monseigneur le duc et madame la duchesse dernièrement trespasé.... que monseigneur fist dire devant lui le penultieme jour d'avril dernièrement passé, XVI fr. Et pour les chappellains qui dirent les vigiles et la messe dudit anniversaire, IIII fr.... Et pour charger et descharger les grans coffres de la chappelle de mon dit seigneur qu'il fist mener de l'ostel d'Artois à Paris en Louvre pour estre le dit jour de l'ascencion devers monseigneur de Guienne.... Pour ce par mandement de mondit seigneur donné le dit jour de l'ascencion, premier jour de may 1410.

(ACO, B 1560, fol. 44 [LI])

153. Et à quatre chappellains qui à la feste de l'ascencion derrenierement passé ont fait le service en la chappelle du Louvre à Paris ou monseigneur de Guienne et mondit seigneur esté, V fr. demj.... Par mandement donné à Paris le XIIIe jour de may l'an 1410.

(ACO, B 1560, fol. 86v [IIIxxXIIIv])

154. A Jehan Gossuin, cleric de chappelle d'icellui seigneur, qu'il lui donna le XIX jour dudit mois d'aoust, pour son acquicter à un cordonaunier à qui il estoit tenuz pour soulers prins par lui au vivant de feu Tapissier durant le temps qu'il estoit en son escole de chant, III fr.... Par mandement dudit seigneur donné à Paris le dit VIe jour d'aoust l'an 1410.... III fr.

(ACO, B 1560, fol. 93 [CI])

155. A Xpofle d'Albourg et Paulin d'Alexandrie, trompettes de mondit seigneur, ausquelz ycellui seigneur a donné la somme de LX fr. d'or pour ce en avoir et acheter des armeures et harnois pour eulz habillier en l'armee que le Roy nostre sire fait à present. Par mandement de mondit seigneur donné à Paris le XXVII jour de septembre l'an 1410.... LX frans.

(ACO, B 1560, fol. 116 [VIxxIII])

156. Item, le dit jour [IIIe janvier] à monseigneur de Charrolois pour donner à un harpeur qui lui monstre le jeu sur la harpe, III fr. VII s. VI d. tournois.... Par mandement de mondit seigneur donné à Grantmont le IXe jour de janvier l'an 1411 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1560, fol. 110 [CXVII])

157. Le XIX jour dudit mois [Mars] au confesseur dudit seigneur qu'il lui ordonna.... et en fist faire un service solempnel de vigilles et de messe haultes avec plusieurs autres messes basses pour le salut et reverence de feue ma dame la duchesse dont dieu ait l'ame, XIII fr. X s. tournois.... Par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné à Arras le XXIII jour de mars 1411 [n.s.].

(ACO, B 1562, fol. 37v [XXXIXv])

158. La somme de XL escuz d'or que mon dit seigneur a fait delivrer.... aux chappellains de l'ostel de mon dit seigneur et autres chappellains de dehors qui firent le service du jour de noel 1411 devant mon dit seigneur et autres festes ensuivant. Pour ce par lettres de mandement de mon dit seigneur et donnees le XXVIIIe jour de decembre l'an dessus dit et certifficacion de dit frere Jehan [Marchant].... XL escuz d'or.

(ACO, B 1570, fol. 168)

159. Aux chappellains qui chanterent la messe devant lui le dit jour de l'an.... Par lettres de mandement de mon dit seigneur donnees le dit XXIIe jour de fevrier 1412 [n.s.].... III fr. VI s. Aux chappellains qui firent le service devant mon dit seigneur le jour de nostre dame en mars, III fr. VIII s. parisis.... Aux chappellains qui firent le service devant mon dit seigneur du jeudj absolut ensuivant, XVIII s. parisis. Item, pour ceulx qui firent le service le jour de vendredj benoist ensuivant, III fr. VI s. parisis.... Par lettres de mandement de mon dit seigneur donnees le dit XXIII jour d'avril 1412.

(ACO, B 1570, fol. 283)

160. A messire Nicole Grenon, prestre chappellain de mondit seigneur, lequel celluy seigneur par ses lettres donnees XXIII jour d'octobre l'an 1412 retint oudit office de chappellain pour gouverner et apprendre en l'art de musique Caisin Dupuy, Jehan Dupuy, Philippot l'Arbalestrier et Jehan Pousset, par avant enffans de chappelle de monseigneur le duc de Berry; lesquelz aussi mon dit seigneur par ses lettres a retenus enffans de sa chappelle. Auquel messire Nicole a esté accordé que pour tenu iceulx enffans et leur administrer vivres et autres leurs neccessitez tant de vesture comme autrement la somme de IIcXXV franc par an jusques à trois ans commencans le premier jour d'aoust oudit an 1412, depuis lequel temps le dit chappellain a tenu iceulx enffans à ses despens. Par le commandement et ordonnance de mondit seigneur à paier icelle somme à II termes en l'an, c'est assavoir, toussains et pasques, commencans pour le premier terme de paiement à la toussains prochain ensuivant....

(ACO, B 1572, fol. 23)

161. A Pietre de Prost, tourneur d'instrumens pour menestriers demourant à Bruges, la somme de vint une livre dix solz de trente gros nouvelle monnoye de Flandres la livre avant dicte, en quoy mondit seigneur estoit tenuz à lui pour la vendue et delivrance de cinq pieces instrumens, tant bombardes comme chalemies, qu'il avoit bailliez et delivrez à ses menestriers ou mois d'octobre 1413, et lesquelz mondit seigneur avoit fait prendre et acheter de lui oudit pris. Comme plus à plain peut apparoir par les lettres de mon dit seigneur sur ce faictes et donnees en sa ville de Lille le XXe jour du dit mois d'octobre oudit an....

(AN, B 1903, fol. CCIII)

162. A Jehan de Trehoust la somme de dix livres de trent gros dicte nouvelle monnoye de Flandres.... pour la vendue et delivrance d'un cheval bay à courte queue que mondit seigneur avoit fait prendre et acheter de lui.... et le donna au maistre des enfans de la chappelle. Comme apparoir peut par les lettres de mon dit seigneur sur ce faictes et donnees en sa ville de Gand le XXVIe jour de decembre l'an 1413.

(AN, B 1903, fol. VIIxxIII)

163. A maistre Nicole Grenon, maistre des enfans de la chappelle de mon dit seigneur....c'est assavoir: audit maistre Nicole que mondit seigneur lui fist delivrer compté pour avoir pourpains, robes, linges et chausses pour lui et lesdiz enfans le XVIII jour de mars l'an 1414 [n.s.].... X livres XVII s. VI d.

(AN, B 1903, fol. CCXiIv)

164. Paulin Alexandre, trompette du duc de Bourgogne, donne quictance avec 5 autres le XI octobre 1414 pour la somme de 216 escus d'or du coing du Roy à valoir sur la pension qu'ils prenoit de lui chacun an, de 36 escus d'or chacun.

(Bibl. nat., CB 24, fol. 2)

165. Le duc de Bourgogne avait 4 enfans en sa chapelle en 1416 ainsy qu'il parait par un mandement du dit duc, datté de St. Omer 20 octobre audit an: à messire Nicole Grenon,

y est il dit et aux IIII enfants de nostre chapelle, pour avoir et rachester leurs brides et autres harnoyz de leurs chevaux qu'ils avaient engages, XXVIII sols.
(Bibl. nat., CB 58, fol. 296)

166. Par lettres de Douay 17 novembre 1416 le duc de Bourgogne mande,... 973 escus 2 s. 6 d. de 30 gros nouvelle monnoye de Flandres distribuee par son ordre aux gens de tous offices de son cousin le Roy d'Angleterre qui l'ont servi en son dernier voyage à Calais: aux menestriers et trompettes de son cousin de Gloucester lorsqu'ils furent avec luy à St. Omer vers le comte de Charrolois son fils; aux herauls du Roy des Romains, de son cousin d'Angleterre, et de Portugal; aux 6 trompettes de son dit cousin d'Angleterre, ses haults menestriers, ses menestriers de corde et à son fol; à 3 menestriers haults, 3 trompettes et un menestrier de corde à Cornauille; aux trompettes dudit Roy des Romains et à petits menestriers d'un chevalier de Pologne.
(Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 244)

167. Grenon, Nicole, chapelain du duc de Bourgogne. Mondit seigneur par lettres de Troyes 19 fevrier 1418 [n.s.] luy donne, comme maitre des enfants de sa chapelle, savoir Jean Dupuy, Jean Pousset, Michelet Despeaux et Hannotin le Fevre, 40 frans monnoye royale, pour leur avoir robes à chevaucher, pourpoints, chausses, robes, linges, souliers etc.
(Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 240)

168. A Jehan Joffroy, cleric de la chappelle de mondit seigneur la somme de six frans à lui bailliez du commandement et ordonnance de madicte dame la duchesse, pour racheter et rambre ses orgues que l'aumonier d'icelle dame avoit en gaige, ainsi que mondit seigneur, par ses lettres closes, l'a escript à madicte dame. Pour ce par mandement d'icelle dame donné le XXIXe jour de janvier 1418 [n.s.]; cy rendu avec quictance dudit Jehan Gieffroy.... VI fr.
(ACO, B 1594, fol. VIIIxxXVIII)

169. Maitre Jehan Bonne, chapelain, et Jehan Tatrall, valet de chambre de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne, firent jouer et monstren en la presence de la Royne et de mondit seigneur de Bourgogne *le Mystere de la Resurrection nostre Sire* à la feste de pasques lors darrenierement passé en la ville de Troyes 1418.
(Bibl. nat., CB 104, fol. 207v)

170. A maistre Jaques de Templeuve, premier chappellain de monseigneur le duc, maistre Nicole Grenon, maistre Jehan Brunel, maistre Bernard de Montigny, messire Pierre Godeffroy, maistre Thomas Hopinel, messire Robert Baille, messire Pierre de Fontaines, Cardot de Bellenges, Jehan Doré, maistre Fremin le Vasseur, messire Jaques Hanart, messire Jehan Hanet, maistre Jehan de Rayneval et Johanny du Passage,

tous chappellains de la chappelle de mondit seigneur; Pierre Bonsaulx dit Provins, Jehan Greffroy, Raoul Gueroul dit Millica [fol. 59] et Jehanninet de la Tour, sommeilliers de la chappelle d'icelluy seigneur, la somme de cinq cens quarante frans que mondit seigneur de sa grace leur a donnez pour les grans pertes et dommaiges qu'ilz ont eues et soustenues, tant en pertes de chevaux comme de tres grant chierté de vivres qu'ilz ont euz depuis le derrenier partement de mondit seigneur de la ville de Paris jusques à present, c'est assavoir: audit maistre Jaques de Templeuve, LX frans; et à chascun de tous les autres chappellains dessus nommez, XXX frans; à chascun des diz quatre sommeilliers dessus nommez, XV frans; montent les dictes parties à la dicte somme de VcXL frans, non obstant l'ordonnance faite sur le fait de la chappelle pour laquelle ilz ne doivent prendre ne demander dons, etc. Comme il appert par mandement de mondit seigneur donné à Provins le XXe jour de may 1419; cy rendu avec trois quictances des dessus nommez, chascun de sa part et porcion, requises par ledit mandement seulement, pour ce.... VcXL fr.
(ACO, B 1601, fols. 58v-59 [LIXv-LX])

171. A Christofle et Paulin, trompettes, Caillet, Thibault, Hannequin et Jehan de Vainhezre, menestriers de feu mondit seigneur, trompettes et menestriers, la somme de cent cinquante cinq frans que madicte dame la duchesse de Bourgoingne, par l'avis des gens de son conseil et de mondit seigneur le duc, son filz, a ordonné estre baillié, c'est assavoir: à chacun desdiz Christofle et Paulin, XXV frans, qui sont cinquante frans, et à chacun desdiz Caillet, Thibault et Hennequin aussi XXV frans, et audit Jehan Vainhezre, XXX frans, pour la prevision de leurs vivres, afin qu'ilz n'aient cause d'eulx en aler jusques à ce que mondit seigneur le duc les ait retenu en son service et autrement; pour ce que par aventure il n'en pourroit recouvrer nulz si bons. Pour ce par mandement [fol. XIIIx-xxv] de madicte dame donné à Dijon le XXIIIe jour de novembre 1419.... CLV fr.
(ACO, B 1598, fols. XIIIxxX-XIIIxxXv)

172. Les chappelains, clerics et autres de chapelle du duc de Bourgogne, Jean, ayant representé à la duchesse que depuis la mort dudit feu duc son mary, arrivee le 10 septembre precedent jusqu'à lors, ils avaient toujours fait à Troyes le service divin des trespases et depuis qu'ils estaient arrives devers elle en son hostel à Dijon, pour le salut de l'ame de feu mondit seigneur sans qu'ils cassent pour ce esté comptes à gages, ni pris livree par les escroes de sa depense, qu'auparavant la mort de feu mondit seigneur jusqu'au jour d'ycelle, ils avaient leur ordinaire sur leurs gages à part; savoir: Jaques de Templeuve, premier chapelain, 32 sols parisis par jour, et les autres chapelains de l'ordonnance qu'ils servaient chascun 16 sols parisis, les 4 enfants et le fourrier chascun 5 s. 4 d. parisis, et les 4 sommeliers chascun 16 deniers parisis par jour. Pourquoi ils la priaient de les vouloir faire payer de leurs dits gages attendu qu'ils voulaient se retirer chascun chez eux en leurs benefices; madicte dame.... par lettres de Dijon 16 octobre 1419 mande à Jean Fraignot de leur payer la somme de 200 fr....
(Bibl. nat., CB 57, fol. 285)

PERSONNEL OF THE BURGUNDIAN CHAPEL, 1384-1419

1384

Chaplains^a

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]¹
 Jehan Abidon²
 Toussains Prier²
 Jehan d'Ambrum²
 Symon le Corier³
 Jaques de Fescamp⁴
 Jehan de Coulomiers⁴
 Guillaume Moreau⁵

Clerks

Jehan Grosse Teste²
 Jehan Martin²
 Jehan de Hamencourt²
 Henry de Zurendriesch²
 Henry Potaige³
 Nicole de Hamencourt⁴
 Jehan Ondanch⁶

a ACO, B 1461, fols. 35v-38v [XLIIIv-XLVIIv]; and Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 104.

1 Retained 30th May 1384.

2 Retained 14th April 1384.

3 Retained 25th April 1384.

4 Retained 27th May 1384.

5 Retained 6th July 1384.

6 Retained 10th July 1384.

1385

Chaplains^b

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
 Jehan Abidon
 Toussains Perrer
 Jehan d'Ambrun
 Symon le Corier
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Coulomiers
 Guillaume Moreau
 Jehan Grosseteste¹
 Jehan Martin¹
 Jehan de Hamencourt²

Clerks

Henriet de Zurendriesch
 Henry Potaige
 Colinet de Hamencourt
 Jehan Ondanche
 Jaquet de Templeuve dit Beaudieu³

b ACO, B 1463, fols. 43-45v.

1 Promoted to chaplain 13th November 1384.

2 Promoted to chaplain 2nd March 1385.

3 Retained 13th March 1385.

1386

Chaplains^c

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jehan Abidon
Toussains Perier
Jehan d'Ambrun
Symon le Corrier
Jaques de Fescamp
Jehan de Colomiers
Guillaume Moreau
Jehan Grosse Teste
Jehan Martin
Jehan de Hamencourt
Henry Potaige¹
Robert Souvent²

Clerks

Henry de Zurendriesch
Colin de Hamencourt
Jehan Hondant
Jaquet de Templeuve

c ACO, B 1465, fols. 37-38v [XXXVII-XXXVIIIv].
1 Promoted to chaplain before 16th October 1386.
2 Retained 12th August 1386.

1387

Chaplains^d

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jehan Abidon
Toussains
Jehan d'Ambrun
Simon le Corrier
Jaques de Fescamps
Jehan de Coulomiers
Guillaume Moreau
Jehan Grosseteste
Jehan Martin
Jehan de Hamencourt
Henry Potaige
Robert Souvent

Clerks

Henriet de Zurendriesch
Colinet de Hamencourt
Jehan Ondanch
Jaquet de Templeuve

d ACO, B 1467, fols. 18-19v [XVIII-XIXv].

1388

Chaplains^e

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jehan Abidon
Toussains Perer
Jehan d'Ambrun
Symon le Corier
Jaques de Fescamp
Jehan de Colomiers
Guillaume Moreau
Jehan Martin
Jehan de Hamencourt
Henry Potaige
Robert Souvent

Clerks

Cazin Hullin¹
Henriet de Zurendriesch
Colinet de Hamencourt
Jehan Ondanch
Jaques de Templeuve
Jehan Haussant²

Sommelier

Thevenin des Marez²

e ACO, B 1469, fols. 24-25v [XXIII-XXVv].

1 Retained 31st December 1387.

2 Retained 14th April 1388.

1389

Chaplains^f

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jehan Abidon
Toussainz Perier
Jehan d'Ambrun
Symon Courier
Jaques de Fecand
Jehan de Coulomiers
Guillaume Moreau
Jehan Martin
Jehan de Hamencourt
Henry Potaige
Robert Souvent

Clerks

Nicaise Hullin
Colinet de Hamencourt
Jehan Ondanch
Jaquet de Templeuve
Jehan Haussant

Sommelier

Thevenin du Marais

f ACO, B 1479, fols. 27-28 [XXVII-XXVIII].

1391

Chaplains^g

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Toussains Perier
Jehan Ambrun
Jaques de Fescamps
Jehan de Colomiers
Guillaume Moreau
Jehan Martin
Jehan de Hamencourt
Hanry Potage
Robert Souvent
Jehan de Watignies¹
Nicole de Hamencourt²
Jaquet de Templeuve²
Nicole Faisant³
Ynart le Fevre³
Jehan Ontanc⁴

Clerks

Tasin Hullin
Jehan Haussant
Jehan Bacquere⁵
Thevenin des Mares⁶

Sommelier

Henriet le Fevre⁷

1392

Chaplains^h

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jehan d'Ambrun
Jaques de Fescamps
Jehan de Colomiers
Guillaume Moreau
Jehan Martin
Jehan de Hamencourt
Robert Souvent
Jehan de Watignies
Nicole de Hamencourt
Jaques de Templeuve
Nicole Fessart
Eynart le Fevre
Jehan Ontdanc

Clerks

Cassin Hullin
Jehan Haussant
Jehan Bacre
Thevenin des Mares

Sommelier

Henriet le Fevre

g ACO, B 1486, fol. 23 [XXIII]; and Bibl. nat., CB 23, fol. 154v.

1 Retained 26th March 1391.

2 Promoted to chaplain 1st May 1391.

3 Retained 2nd May 1391.

4 Promoted to chaplain 31st October 1391.

5 Retained 7th January 1391.

6 Promoted to clerk 30th April 1391.

7 Retained 17th January 1391.

h ACO, B 1495, fol. 66 [LXVI].

1394

*Chaplains*ⁱ

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
 Jehan d'Ambrun
 Jacques de Fescamps
 Jehan de Colommiers
 Guillaume Moreau
 Jehan Martin
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan de Watignies
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Jacques de Templeuve
 Nicole Fessart
 Eynart le Fevre
 Jehan Ontdanc
 Jehan Haussant¹

Clerks

Nicaise Hulin
 Jehan Bacre
 Estienne des Mares
 Henriet le Fevre²

Sommeliers

Gillet le Gras³
 Jehanin de Halarville⁴
 Pierre Quiquette⁵

i Bibl. nat., CB 98, fol. 681; and ACO, B 1500, fols. 34-36 [XXXIII-XXXVI].
 1 Promoted to chaplain 1st December 1394.
 2 Promoted to clerk before 31st July 1394.
 3 Retained 17th January 1394.
 4 Retained 12th February 1394.
 5 Retained before 3rd July 1394.

1395

Chaplains^k

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Coulomiers
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan Rogier dit Watignies
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Jaques de Templeuve
 Nicole Fessart
 Aymart le Fevre
 Jehan Ondanch
 Jehan Haussant
 Estienne Turquet¹
 Andrieu du Mor¹
 Jehan François¹
 Henry Schenheze¹
 Jehan Bakre²
 Regnaut du Houx³

Clerks

Cassin Hullin
 Estienne du Marais
 Henriet le Fevre
 Perritin Quiquette⁴

Sommeliers

Gilot le Gras
 Jehan de Harlville

k ACO, B 1503, fols. 36-37v [XXXVI-XXXVIIv].
 1 Retained in Avignon 2nd November 1394; reached Paris before 7th January 1395.
 2 Promoted to chaplain 24th May 1395.
 3 Retained 8th June 1395.
 4 Promoted to clerk before 21st April 1395.

1396

Chaplains^l

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jaques de Fescamp
Jehan de Coulomiers
Jehan de Hamencourt
Robert Souvent
Jehan de Watignies
Nicole de Hamencourt
Jaques de Templeuve
Nicolle Fessart
Eynart le Fevre
Jehan Ondanch
Jehan Haussant
Estienne Turquet
Andrieu du Mor
Jehan François
Henry Sconneheze
Jehan Bakre
Regnaut du Houx
Thevenin des Mares¹

Clerks

Henriet le Fevre
Quiquette
Gilet le Gras²

Sommelier

Jehan de Harlaville

1 ACO, B 1511, fol. 105 [CIIII].

1 Promoted to chaplain before 16th April 1396.

2 Promoted to clerk before 2nd April 1396.

1397

Chaplains^m

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
Jaques de Fescamp
Jehan de Colommiers
Jehan de Hamencourt
Robert Souvent
Jehan de Wateignies
Nicole de Hamencourt
Jaques de Templeuve
Nicolle Fessart
Eymard le Fevre
Jehan Hondanch
Jehan Haussant
Estienne Turquet
Andrieu du Mor
Jehan François
Henry d'Escoineze
Jehan Brakre
Regnaud du Houx
Estienne des Mares
Henry le Fevre¹
Pierre Quiquette¹

Clerk

Gilet le Gras

Sommeliers

Jehan de Harlaville
Guillot du Moulin²

m ACO, B 356, liasse, no folio.

1 Promoted to chaplain before 31st January 1397.

2 Retained before 31st January 1397.

Chaplainsⁿ

Jehan de Chartres [first chaplain]
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Coulomiers
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan de Watignies
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Jaques de Templeuve
 Nicole Fessart
 Eynart le Fevre
 Jehan Houdanch
 Jehan Haussant
 Estienne Turquet
 Andrieu du Mor
 Jehan François
 Henry Scoyneheze
 Jehan Brakre
 Regnult du Houlx
 Estienne des Mares
 Henry le Fevre
 Pierre Picquette

Clerks

Gillet le Gras
 Nicole le Forestier¹

Sommeliers

Jehanin de Harlville
 Gillotin du Moulin
 Thevenin Hardy²

ⁿ ACO, B 1514, fols. 73v-74 [LXXIIv-LXXIII].

¹ Retained 12th August 1398.

² Retained 13th December 1397.

Chaplains^o

Jehan du Moloy¹ [first chaplain]
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Colommiers²
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan de Watignies
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Jaques de Templeuve
 Nicole Fessart
 Eyart le Fevre
 Jehan Ondanch
 Jehan Haussant
 Estienne Turquet
 Andrieu du Mor
 Jehan François
 Henry Sconnheze
 Jehan Baiche
 Regnault du Houx
 Estienne des Marelz
 Henriet le Fevre
 Pierre Quiquette

Clerks

Gillet le Gras
 Colinet le Forestier
 Jehan de Harlville³

Sommeliers

Gillet du Moulin
 Thevenin Hardy
 Jehan de Boulongne⁴

^o ACO, B 1517, fols. 48v-49 [XLVIIIv-XLIX].

¹ Replaced Jehan de Chartres as first chaplain 4th April 1399.

² Died 21st December 1399.

³ Promoted to clerk 11th April 1399.

⁴ Retained before 1st February 1399.

Chaplains^pJaquet de Templeuve¹ [first chaplain]

Jaques de Fescamp

Jehan de Hamencourt

Robert Souvent

Jehan de Watignies

Nicole de Hamencourt

Nicole Fessart

Eynart le Fevre

Jehan Ondanch

Jehan Haussant

Estienne Turquet

Andrieu du Mor

Jehan François

Henry Saintheze

Jehan Bakre

Regnault du Houlx

Estienne des Mares

Henry le Fevre

Pierre Picquette

Clerks

Gilles le Gras

Colinet le Forestier

Jehan de Harlarville

Sommeliers

Gillot du Moulin

Thevenin Hardy

Jehan de Boulongne

Chaplains^q

Jaques de Templeuve [first chaplain]

Jehan du Moly¹

Jaques de Fescamp

Jehan de Hamencourt

Robert Souvent

Jehan de Watignies

Nicole de Hamencourt

Nicole Fessart

Eynart le Fevre

Jehan Ondanc

Jehan Haussant

Andrieu du Mor

Jehan François

Henry Sconheze

Jehan Bakre

Estienne des Mares

Regnault du Houx

Henry le Fevre

Pierre Quiquette

Gilles le Gras²*Clerks*

Colinet le Forestier

Jehannin de Harlaville

Sommeliers

Gillot Martin

Thevenin Hardy

Jehan de Boulongne

Vincent Colas³

p ACO, B 1519, fol. 62 [LXII].

1 Replaced Jehan du Moly as first chaplain 16th March 1400.

q ACO, B 1516, fol. 64 [LXX].

1 Retained as chaplain 20th February 1401.

2 Promoted to chaplain before 5th June 1401

3 Retained before 12th August 1401.

Chaplains^r

Jaquet de Templeuve [first chaplain]
 Jehan du Moly
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan de Watignies
 Nicole Hamencourt
 Nicolle Fessart
 Enard le Fevre
 Jehan Ondanch
 Jehan Haussant
 Andrieu du Mor
 Jehan François
 Henry Sconeheze
 Jehan Bakre
 Estienne des Marez
 Regnault du Houx
 Henry le Fevre
 Pierre Quiquette
 Gilles le Gras
 Nicole le Forestier¹

Clerk

Jehan de Harlville

Sommeliers

Gillot Martin
 Thevenin Hardy
 Jehan de Boulongne
 Vincent Colart

r ACO, B 1532, fols. 84-85 [IIIIxxIIII-IIIIxxV].

1 Promoted to chaplain before 7th January 1402.

Chaplains^s

Jaques de Templeuve [first chaplain]
 Jehan du Moly
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan de Watignies
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Nicolle Fessart
 Eynart le Fevre
 Jehan Ondanch
 Jehan Haussant
 Andrieu du Mor
 Jehan François
 Henry Sconeherse
 Jehan Bakre
 Estienne des Marez
 Regnault du Houx
 Henry le Fevre
 Pierre Quiquette
 Gilles Gras
 Nicole le Forestier

Clerks

Jehan de Harlville
 Jehan Boucher¹

Sommeliers

Gillot Martin
 Thevenin Hardy
 Jehan de Boulongne
 Vincent Colas
 Perenet de la Fontaine²

s ACO, B 1538, fols. 64v-65 [LXIIIIv-LXV].

1 Retained before 4th January 1403.

2 Retained before 25th May 1403.

Chaplains^t

Jaquet de Templeuve [first chaplain]
 Jehan du Moloy
 Jaques de Fescamp
 Jehan de Hamencourt
 Robert Souvent
 Jehan de Watignyes
 Nicole de Hamencourt
 Nicole Fessart
 Eynard le Fevre
 Jehan Oudanch
 Jehan Haussant
 Andrieux du Mor
 Jehan François
 Henry Sconeheze
 Jehan Bakre
 Estienne du Marez
 Regnault du Houlx
 Henry le Fevre
 Pierre Quiquette
 Gilles le Gras
 Nicole le Forestier¹

Clerks

Jehan de Halarville
 Jehan Boucher
 Jehan de Lachenel dit Boulongne²

Sommeliers

Gillot Martin
 Thevenin Hardy
 Vincent Colas
 Perenet de la Fontaine

t ACO, B 1538, fols. 65v-66v [LXVv-LXVIv].

1 Died 25th January 1404.

2 Promoted to clerk before 15th February 1404.

Chaplains^u

Estienne des Mares dit Potage [first chaplain]
 Nicole Grenon
 Thomas Hoppinel
 Jean Maroinne
 Pierre de Fontaines
 Noël [Poignart]
 Guillaume Ruby
 Pierre Godefroy
 Robert Baille
 Guy Jouise
 Cardinet de Belongues
 Jean Doré
 Vincent François
 Hannequin [Hanet]
 Jacques Hanart
 Jean Bourgeois

Clerks [Choirboys]

Jean [Dupuy]
 Jean [Pousset dit Moreau]
 Michelet [Despeaux]
 Hanotin [le Fevre]

Chaplains^v

Estienne des Mares dit Potage [first chaplain]

Nicole Grenon
 Thomas Hoppinel
 Jean Maroinne
 Pierre de Fontaines
 Noël Poignart
 Guillaume Ruby
 Pierre Godefroy
 Robert Valle
 Guy Joysse
 Cardot de Bellengues
 Jean Doré
 Vincent Tresmois
 Jean Hanet
 Jacques Hanart
 Jean Bourgeois

Clerks [Choirboys]

Jean Dupuy
 Jean Pousset dit Moreau
 Michelet Despeaux
 Haquin le Fevre

Sommeliers

Pierre Bonsaulx
 Jean Geffroy
 Rogier de Bréauté

Chaplains^w

Jaques de Templeuve [first chaplain]

Fremin le Vaicheur
 Gilles le Gras
 Nicolle Grenon
 Jehan Brunel
 Bernard de Montigny
 Thomas Hoppinel
 Pierre Godeffroy
 Pierre de Fontaines
 Robert Baille
 Jaques Hemart
 Jehan Havet
 Jehan de Regenel
 Cardot de Bellanges
 Jehan Doré
 Raoul le Vasseur

Clerks [Choirboys]

Jehan Pouret
 Michelet Despeaux
 Jehanin le Fevre

Sommeliers

Pierre Bonsaux dit Provins
 Jehanin Gieffroy
 Rogier Beauté
 Raoul Girault

v Bibl. nat., CB 58, fols. 294 and 296; and Bibl. nat., CB 56, fol. 248.

w ACO, B 1601, fol. 42v [XLIIv].

Chaplains^x

Jaques de Templeuve [first chaplain]
 Nicole Grenon
 Jehan Brunel
 Bernard de Montigny
 Pierre Godeffroy
 Thomas Hopinel
 Robert Baille
 Pierre de Fontaines
 Cardot de Bellenges
 Jehan Doré
 Fremin le Vasseur
 Jaques Hanart
 Jehan Hanet
 Jehan de Rayneval
 Johanny du Passage

Clerks [Choirboys]

Jehan Pousset
 Michelet Despeaux
 Jehan le Fevre

Sommeliers

Pierre Bonsaulx dit Provins
 Jehan Greffroy
 Raoul Gueroul dit Millica
 Jehanninet de la Tour

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